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The Week

THE unexpected and decisive victory for woman suffrage in New York is reason for the most heartfelt rejoicing. Democracy has taken a great step forward, all the more gratifying because it has occurred in war time. The Empire State, it was felt, would be the last to surrender. Conservatism, plus the German-American vote, plus the influence wielded by the liquor interests, would, it was believed, make this the last State north of Mason and Dixon's Line to accept this notable reform. But the victory is here, stunning in its surprise, far-reaching in its influence, for it breaks the backbone of the Northern opposition and will have a tremendous effect not only throughout the United States, but in Europe as well. It is in many aspects the greatest victory the suffrage cause has ever won, save perhaps the British success, which is, however, only partial and not yet in effect. To all the brave and undaunted workers in the cause which the *Nation* has so long espoused we extend our heartiest congratulations. How hopeless it all seemed not only when the *Nation* was founded, but even until the sensational Pankhurst campaign began in England! So amazing a progress to complete success as this once so unpopular cause has made is enough to hearten every despondent reformer the world over, and particularly those who are determined that war shall cease forever. Truly, the soul of Democracy goes marching on as never before.

IT is no wonder that the Secretary of War declared that the Ku-Klux assault on the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow was as bad as the German outrages in Belgium and a "humiliating contrast with our ideals." It will make utter hypocrisy of our national assertion that we are in this war to extend democracy and to exterminate Prussianism, if this abominable piece of lawlessness is not everywhere reprobated, and the cowardly perpetrators thereof brought to book. Naturally, these precious scoundrels hid their faces; naturally, they remain in hiding. Fortunately, not even their mask of patriotism can cover the abhorrent nature of their crime. It must be apparent to all reasonable men that if our warring upon German brutalities and inhumanities must needs be defended by any such wickedness, then our ideals are not worth fighting for.

THE *Public*, in speaking of the Bigelow outrage, declares that "the intolerance and brutal stupidity of those public officials who have indulged in wholesale and indiscriminating prosecutions are directly responsible for such atrocities," and affirms that the members of the mob "are blood brothers of the most debased exponents of Prussian brutality." "In Theodore Roosevelt," it asserts, "they find their inspiration, and in the acts of certain microcephalous officials representing Southern junkerism their sanction." This is strong anguage—all the stronger as it comes from a weekly which s entirely and wholeheartedly upholding the war, and which ighly praises Woodrow Wilson in this same issue. At the same time it asks him to come out against "our witch-burners in public office" and say a word "that will consign all such to the public contempt they so richly merit." What the *Public* will say next week when it reads that on Sunday a woman was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd for three months for speaking rudely or sneeringly to a naval officer, and that a man was killed by a sailor in New Jersey for what is described as an insult to the uniform, it will be interesting to ascertain. But the President should see in this and the Bigelow case a dangerous drift towards the Prussian habit of insulting civilians and slashing the heads of lame cobblers, as at Zabern.

IT is not quite accurate to characterize the taxes on exchange or redemption of railway transportation as taxes for changing your mind. You decide upon an earlier or a later train than the one you had planned to take, with a consequent change of Pullman, not because of the fickleness of your temperament, but because of the capriciousness of circumstances. Logically, the unexpected happening that has upset your arrangements should pay any fee involved, but who ever heard of a logical tax? Being somewhat inconvenienced anyway, so our law-makers apparently reason, you might as well make a complete job of it, and so you are required to pay for the privilege of your discomfort. The prudent will offer no protest against this treatment, lest they goad the framers of bills for raising revenue into taxing them when they do not change their minds about the train they take. Why not a tax on changing one's mind about what shall go into a tax bill and how it shall be worded? This would almost be sufficient of itself to take care of the Government's ordinary expenses.

COUNT VON HERTLING has accepted the German Chancellorship at a time when that office is a dizzy and perilous eminence. With the failure of the short-lived Michaelis before his eyes, he must feel that he, too, is in danger of having soon to look back upon his term as Chancellor as a "pleasant souvenir," in Bismarck's ironic phrase. This is the more probable considering that Count von Hertling is seventy-five. Is it a case of one stop-gap succeeding another? What counts in the situation is the fact that the new Chancellor spent several days in consulting leaders of the Reichstag before deciding to accept the Kaiser's offer. According to the *Vossische Zeitung*, he agreed to adopt a good part of the programme of the Reichstag majority. This is explicitly said to include an undertaking to carry through the reform of the franchise in Prussia. This is not bad for the Bavarian who was charged with being more Prussian than the Prussians. Moreover, it is announced that the Reichstag, which was not to have met until December 5, will now assemble in November. Doubtless, the new Chancellor will make his statement before that body. All the signs are, therefore, that no attempt will be made to ride roughshod over the representatives of the German people. Conciliation and compromise will rather be the order of the day. In this sense it may prove true that the new Chancellor is intended to hold office but provisionally.

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Yet there are unquestionably important purposes, even if only temporary, which Count von Hertling is counted upon to serve, and it is no great secret what these are.

AMONG them a prominent place must be occupied by the desire to remove all causes of friction between Berlin and Munich. These have been both military and political. Bavarians have complained that their troops had been called upon for the hardest service, while Prussians had been spared. If this was true in the early months of the war, it can hardly be so now. The Empire is throwing all its manpower into the fiery furnace. But if any feeling of that sort persists in Bavaria, and if there are lingering jealousies not only about the conduct of the war, but about political management, then the choice of the Bavarian Minister-President as German Chancellor must have a soothing and uniting effect. Count von Hertling himself seems to attach a significance of this kind to his selection. But even more important is the statement that he takes office on the basis of a foreign policy such as was outlined in the German reply to the Pope's peace note. This means full acceptance of disarmament and the League of Nations. If Hertling and King Ludwig have sneered at such proposals before as both of them have—particularly the Bavarian King—they have now come to a better mind. This is another indication of the spirit of compromise underlying the appointment of the new Chancellor. Coming as he does from Catholic Bavaria, and dependent as he is upon the Clerical party in the Reichstag, he may well make it one of his first tasks to seek to open negotiations for peace in connection, possibly, with renewed efforts by the Pope.

BECAUSE of inherent dramatic interest, as well as its practical significance, the U-boat looms largest in Sir Eric Geddes's analysis of the entire war situation on the sea, the most complete account we have as yet had of the subject. The British First Lord of the Admiralty asserts that between 40 and 50 per cent. of the German submarines operating since the outbreak of the war have been destroyed. If Germany had no U-boats at the beginning this would mean that the submarines have been destroyed about half as fast as they are being built. As a matter of fact, Germany in 1914 had about 50 U-boats built and building, so that the rate of destruction has apparently been a little better than 50 per cent. of new construction. If the U-boat construction is increasing, according to Sir Eric Geddes, so is the rate of destruction. But more than that, we must recall that killing the U-boats is not the only means of defence. There are improved methods of evading the submarine, or driving it away without destroying it, or otherwise hampering its activities. In a speech destitute of rhetoric the confident summary is all the more conclusive: the enemy's attack is held and is being mastered.

UPON the disputed question of actual losses of tonnage from the U-boat the British First Lord draws the issue sharply with Berlin's official statements. He does not quite say that Berlin is lying, but prefers to believe that Berlin cannot know the facts. At any rate, as against German claims of more than 800,000 tons of all nationalities sunk in August, Sir Eric declares that the real figures are a little more than half. As against the September claim of 680,000 tons the real figures are a little less than half for all nationalities, and Britain's loss is less than one-third of the total. On the broad question of the attrition of England's merchant fleet we have the specific statement that the net loss in ships over 1,600 tons since the beginning of the war has been 2,500,000 tons, or 14 per cent. of such ships in 1914. There is one exception, to be made, however, untouched upon by the British First Lord. If 14 per cent. of the larger British ships is equal to 2,500,000 tons, then the tonnage of such ships at the beginning of the war must have been about 18,000,000, and is now 15,500,000. But about half of the mercantile fleet has been diverted to Government purposes. This would leave about 7,500,000 tons as the shipping now available for the general purposes of British trade.

GEOGRAPHICAL anonymity in Government reports of military operations is a survival of military swank, without real justification. The famous "somewhere in France" and "an Atlantic port" conceal nothing that the enemy does not know, or that any intelligent reader of the newspapers cannot figure out for himself. It is effective only for the general mass of readers who have neither the time nor the inclination to read between the lines and in the atlases. For two years after it was a commonplace that German Headquarters in the west was stationed at Charleville-Mézières, it was the formula never to mention the names. So with the British bases in France and now with our own. Only imagine that the American people were told that our first troops are in the trenches near Arras, or in the Champagne, or around Verdun, or in the Vosges, or near Belfort. There would be an immediate turning to atlases and newspaper maps by a whole nation; there would arise a passionate interest in that specific bit of French geography; the attention of a nation would be fixed upon that "quiet sector" with a vividness and almost personal concern which could not but undermine that "apathy" which every War Office fears. The concrete names of a village or two would go to the heart of the people with a directness that the "somewhere in France" fails to achieve.

THE Kaiser is a bit mixed in his metaphor. He hails Hindenburg as the modern Wotan, and Ludendorff as our contemporary Siegfried. We shall not draw attention to the bar sinister, though divine, that made of Siegfried a demigod. Siegfried was born to be his father, Wotan's, undoing, and the undoing of all the Junkerdom of Asgaard. Perhaps the Kaiser foresees him playing the Grouchy-Siegfried at some Waterloo of Prussian gods and guards. The world wishes he would hurry towards this desirable destiny. Meanwhile, to continue H.I.M.'s metaphor, Madame Krupp von Bohlen might be said to be the Brunnhilde of Germany, the industrial barons and landlords the Giants who started all the trouble, Fafner the Pan-German propaganda press, Hagen, Bethmann-Hollweg, Logi the wily von Bülow, the submerged Rhine maidens the German navy. But where do the German people come in on this allegory? Why, of course, they are Mime, who, if ever there was one, is a proletariat character, rebellious and oppressed and wrong-headed, trying to weld a sword together out of broken shards.

"FROM Dan to Beersheba," in the old days, was equivalent, as a phrase expressive of vast distances, to our saying "It's as far as from Portland to Galveston." Yet in reality the leagues which separate the ancient town th

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British have captured and the village they hope in the future to capture are not so much more numerous than those which flit rapidly by a parlor-car window on the trip from New York to Albany. In ancient times, days were occupied with the journey between the northern and southern limits of Palestine. More recently the British have been taking more than a year to make the jaunt. The waterless desert of Sinai had to be cut by water-pipes, and the trackless wilderness covered with sleepers, ties, and rails. The gates of Gaza twice withstood the attacks of Sampson's successors. Now, however, with the cool winter season, the invasion of Palestine seems at last on the march. If the gates of Gaza cannot be directly lifted and carried away, they can perhaps be made to fall down by a flanking movement north through Beersheba towards Jerusalem. The Damascus line is the eventual British objective, so that Medina may drop, like a ripe fig, into the lap of the insurgent Arab, who is said to have refused to jeopardize the holy city's monuments by direct bombardment and attacks.

THE decision upon the minimum wage scale in Pacific Coast shipyards is fruit of an agreement between the Government and those unions of the American Federation of Labor whose members are employed in American yards—an agreement signed a little more than a month ago following the threat of a general strike along the Pacific. Though one union official expresses discontent with the scale, we may assume that it will not be repudiated. Under the agreement, the Labor Adjustment Board, with representatives of the Federation of Labor, Emergency Fleet Corporation, and the Navy Department, where it is affected, is to be final arbiter in disputes as to wages, hours, and conditions, and the ten separate labor organizations signatory to the agreement undertake to avoid strikes while it is in force. Awards are to be retroactive as to wages, and the announced new scale goes back in the Puget Sound district as far as August 1. They may be reopened after six months for readjustment, which is fairer than discontented talk of an immediate appeal to the President. The rate of increase announced, 10 to 30 per cent. as a minimum, sounds fair enough, and we may find in labor grumbling evidence that it is not excessive. The Board did not "feel justified in forcing on the taxpayers . . . the higher wage that the consideration of merely local aspects of the situation might have warranted," and workers should realize that these are times for patriots to forego excessive profits.

THOUGH German patents in the United States are numbered by thousands, and under regulations issued last week may now pass into American hands for the period of the war, we need expect no startling rush into new manufacturing fields. License to use a German patent will be issued only where it is proved that a genuine public demand exists for an article protected by it. No manufacturer will be permitted a license until he can demonstrate his ability to manufacture the article—that is, none will obtain a right of manufacture in a mere empty effort to scare off competitors; and no manufacturer will be licensed until he agrees to pay a certain sum for ultimate compensation of the patent owner, and until he conforms to conditions which will bring his price to the public to a just level. The "Made in Germany" sign has appeared in chief part on articles that we can manufacture without using German patents. In the chemical field we have perhaps been hampered less by German patent rights than by German trade secrets, and these trade secrets have often become worthless since we have made a determined effort to find our own road.

THE proffered resignation of Dr. Muck as conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, because of the "Star-Spangled Banner" controversy, is a cause for deep regret among music-lovers, for Dr. Muck is a rare artist. It was unfortunate, however, that the Boston Orchestra should have made a stand upon the playing of what has become a routine accompaniment of theatrical and musical performances. New York's orchestras, the Philharmonic and the Symphony, found that they could play the national anthem without damaging their musical standing, to say nothing of the patriotic side or of obliging their patrons. On the other hand, for an excited public opinion to try to dictate what opera should be produced and what orchestral numbers played would be a grievous blow to musical art in America. It is stated that there will be no German operas at the Metropolitan this winter. This we think regrettable, if only because it shows less tolerance than is to be found in London, where German opera is given, or in Vienna, where Shakespeare's plays are frequently produced. These great works of art surely rise above international rivalries and warfare.

THE announcement that the Canadian elections will be held on December 17 brings to a head the campaign across the border. It has at once called out a pronunciamento from Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Upon this we shall defer extended comment until the entire statement is in our hands. It is plain, however, that by proposing a referendum upon the issue of conscription, Sir Wilfrid places this question at the forefront of the campaign. He promises that the Canadian troops abroad shall be upheld in men, money, and materials, and it will be difficult, therefore, for Sir Robert Borden to accuse the Opposition of disloyalty to the troops in the field. While Sir Wilfrid touches upon other issues, and returns to questions of tariff, this conscription issue will remain the dominant one. It should be a most interesting and exciting political battle, with the odds favoring those now holding office, who have revised the franchise to suit themselves, giving the vote to those women only whose support they count upon, and who have scored a political success by forming a Coalition Cabinet. But, despite his years, Sir Wilfrid is not an adversary to be despised.

THE death of E. Benjamin Andrews comes at a moment when the sort of thing that gave him his widest publicity is one of the issues of the day. Thousands of persons who know little or nothing of his scholarly attainments are more or less familiar with his name in connection with the question of academic freedom. Questioned during the first Bryan campaign as to whether he had written letters to graduates of Brown University favoring free silver, he resented this intrusion into his rights as a citizen, and resigned. The affair brought Brown a good deal of unpleasant notoriety, and made Dr. Andrews the pioneer in our time of professors whose expression of opinion was interfered with. The Ross case followed, and for some years there were scattering instances. Latterly, the number of flagrant attempts, successful and unsuccessful, to control professors' utterances, has increased. Just before the war,

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the action of several Western universities threatened to discredit the system of higher education by the State.

The New York Election

By an overwhelming vote of more than three to one the electorate of New York city has registered its disapproval of the candidacy of Mayor Mitchel for reëlection. Despite the contemptible figure Judge Hylan cut in the campaign; despite every charge of pro-Germanism and disloyalty, nearly twice as many people cast their ballots for Tammany's puppet as for the best Mayor New York has known, while the Socialist vote nearly overtook that for Mitchel. Out of 642,445 voters only 149,307 supported the Mayor, who had not only wrapped himself in the American flag, but declared that a vote for Hylan was a vote for the Kaiser and every vote for Hillquit a vote for treason.

Obviously there are two aspects to the outcome. From the point of view of the city's government the result is utterly deplorable. The turning out of such faithful servants as Controller Prendergast, Police Commissioner Arthur Woods, Charities Commissioner John A. Kingsbury, Tenement House Commissioner John J. Murphy, and many another devoted worker for the city is a grievous loss, not only to the metropolis, but to good city government throughout the United States. True, it may be that Tammany cannot let the city wholly return to the shocking conditions of misgovernment out of which the long years of struggle for reform have lifted it. Nevertheless, New York is in for a bad reaction, for Tammany not only controls every vote of the vital Board of Estimate, it has reelected the gravely tarnished District Attorney, who would inevitably have been removed because of the charges preferred against him, had Governor Whitman possessed courage and backbone. To Charles F. Murphy and William Randolph Hearst the destinies of the greatest city in the world have been turned over for four long years.

Discouraging as this is, it is no cause for despairing of democracy. The responsibility, it must frankly be stated, lies squarely at the doors of the reformers and the Mayor himself, for they have failed to convince the electorate of their obvious devotion to its interests. More than that, they utterly mismanaged the campaign. Gratuitously lugging in the national issue, they arrogantly assumed that patriotism vested in them alone, and Mitchel assailed all his antagonists with mud-slinging, abuse, and vilification, in striking contrast to the good taste, good spirit, and gentlemanliness with which Mr. Hillquit conducted his campaign. After the patent result of Mr. Hughes's effort to win the Presidency by abuse of Mr. Wilson, it would seem as if common-sense would have made every politician realize that this sort of thing is utterly repugnant to the American spirit of fair play and to electoral decency. Bad as were the facts brought out as to Mr. Hylan's career, the bitter daily assaults of Mr. Mitchel naturally reacted so that one wonders whether he would not have run far behind Mr. Hillquit had the campaign lasted longer. His final vicious abuse of the pacifists met with a deserved rebuke within twenty hours after it was uttered.

The stupidity of the Mayor's loyalty issue is patent if one considers that in view of his characterization of his opponents as pro-German it may be inferred abroad that five-sixths of the city is opposed to the war. This is, of course, quite unwarranted, for not even all the Hillquit vote was a straight anti-war one. No one can even guess how many of Hylan's supporters or how few are opposed to the war, so many cross currents have there been. Mr. Mitchel has offended one group after another of our citizenship. He lost the Irish vote when he broke up the legitimate meetings for Irish freedom; a heavy Catholic current ran against him for reasons entirely creditable to himself. On the other hand, many pacifists voted for Mitchel because they placed the interests of the city first. None the less, the vote is a great vote of protest by the leading city of the land—a protest against the cheap and tawdry abuse of your opponents as pro-German and disloyal if their views are different from yours, a protest against the prevailing spirit of mob rule over any one who dares to think contrary to the majority, a deep and extremely significant protest against the misuse of official power to suppress freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

This is the second important aspect of the election—the national aspect. We have no doubt that so shrewd a politician as Woodrow Wilson will understand what it means. He will realize that revolution—peaceful revolution—is on foot here as abroad; the tremendous Hillquit vote proves that and also that attempting to coerce the country to his way of thinking, as the Roosevelts and Roots and other reactionaries would have it, would be an utter mistake. The country is not to be united behind this war by force. It cannot be united for it—it has never been united for any war—but the way to get the greatest number of citizens behind it and the President, is to assure to them all of their democratic rights even in war time, to give them no ground for believing that those rights are in danger and that injustice is being done them by men temporarily clothed with public power. He must call off Burlesonism, he must let his voice be heard against such outrages as that inflicted upon Mr. Bigelow. He must seek, if he is wise, to extend and safeguard democracy at home while fighting for it abroad. This is the lesson of the New York election for him and for the country.

Cadorna's Task

Of greater importance for the fate of the Italian armies than the severity of the blow which fell along the upper Isonzo, the great losses in men and material and the necessity of retreat, is the question whether Cadorna recognized from the first the full meaning of the defeat north of Tolmino. If he had the necessary clearness of vision and the courage to acknowledge implications, the fear of an Italian Sedan may be dismissed, though it should be recalled that when we speak of Sedan we must translate into the huge statistics of modern warfare. Already the Teutonic armies have captured nearly two and a half times as many men as surrendered under MacMahon. Of the destruction of armies we cannot speak to-day, in view of the enormous human resources which a nation like Italy can rally. What Cadorna now faces is the loss of territory, of half the Venetian plain surely, possibly of all the region down to the Piave, the Brenta, or the Adige. The halt on the Tagliamento was only temporary. Will Cadorna have the moral courage to go back and back again in order to keep his army intact?

It seemed certain from the first that the Tagliament

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did not represent the limit of the Italian retirement. The upper course of that river has to be defended by the troops which caught the full shock of the German attack, and it is doubtful whether the recovery of morale has been sufficient to make a stand; especially in face of a possible out-flanking movement from the extreme north, between Pontebba and the Plöcken Pass. If the line on the upper Tagliamento should give way the situation along the lower river would become difficult. It is among the possibilities, therefore, that Cadorna, with something of the Joffre touch, may decide to go further than the Tagliamento towards the line of the Piave, thirty miles further west. Such a line would have the additional advantage that it guards against the eventuality of a Teutonic stroke from the Trentino full in the rear of the retreating armies. The Piave crosses the Venetian plain from the Carnic Alps to the sea. Along its upper course lie Belluno and Feltre, facing the eastern Trentino. In its lower course it forms a barrier guarding the approach to Venice. Behind the river lies Treviso, which is the junction point of the railway running east to the Isonzo and north and west along a parallel with the Piave to Feltre and Belluno. From Treviso, therefore, Cadorna might throw his forces in either direction, according as the situation develops. If the line of the Tagliamento is abandoned and the retirement of the Italians from the northern Carnic Alps continues, we may look to the formation of a permanent line along the Piave through Belluno, Feltre, and Treviso to the sea.

Such a line would mean the abandonment of two-thirds of Venetia to the enemy. It is a serious loss, but it would not be disaster. We must think of this possibility in light of the first disconcerting impression that the defeat on the Isonzo might mean the collapse of the Italians and a separate peace. A glance at a small-scale map of Italy will show that this is an exaggerated fear. Even if the line of the Piave should become untenable, if the Teutons should break loose along the whole length of the Trentino front and compel Cadorna to go back to the Adige, with the loss of Venice, Padua, Verona, and Vicenza, it is still true that the heart and bulk of Italy remain, Lombardy and Piedmont and the entire peninsula south of the Po. It is not a cheerful eventuality to contemplate, but it falls far short of a Rumanian disaster. Venetia is the Italian Poland, thrust out into hostile territory. It might be lopped off and leave nine-tenths of Italian soil intact, and that the richest and best organized portion. Unlike the occupied departments of France, with their great bulk of the mineral and industrial resources of the country, the Venetian plain contains but a small part of Italy's war resources.

Cadorna's loss in men is not so serious as the loss of guns. If Great Britain and France rush help to their ally we may assume that it will come in the form of artillery. Of all the leading combatants Italy has suffered least in human wastage. Mountain fighting during two years and a half has been costly, and 200,000 prisoners may mean a total casualty list of not more than 250,000. Nevertheless, Italy is a nation of nearly forty millions, with a fighting manpower by other standards of nearly five millions, and it is doubtful whether Cadorna has had more than a million men along his entire front. The situation is altogether different from Rumania counting, and in vain, upon Russian reinforcements, of which only a driblet was available in time.

But in another essential Italy is better prepared to stand up under the crushing blow she has received than either Russia after the disaster on the Dunajec in 1915 or Rumania after the Transylvanian disaster. Upon both Rumanians and Russians the blow descended in enemy territory and on a terrain with which they could have been only imperfectly familiar. Russia had to fall back through Galicia, and the Rumanians were shattered and entangled by Falkenhayn in the mountains of Transylvania. The Italians, on the other hand, are on the defensive in their own land and on a terrain with which they must be thoroughly familiar and of which they could take every advantage. We may expect Cadorna to make somewhat the same use of the rivers and railways of Venetia that Joffre did of the rivers and railways of northern France after the opening series of defeats on the frontier.

War Aims and Russia

THE specific form of assistance which revolutionary Russia expects from her allies was not mentioned in Kerensky's statement of last week with its mingled pathos and suggestion of ominous possibilities. It is not money, nor American supplies, nor the coöperation of the British fleet which Kerensky had primarily in mind, but that restatement of war aims by the Allies upon which internal strife in Russia has centred almost from the first days of the Revolution. The inability or unwillingness of the Allied Governments to lay down a concrete programme has made Kerensky's task terribly difficult by playing into the hands of the extremists. The power of the Bolsheviki is not in their numbers, but in the skill with which they capitalize the disappointments and fears of the masses. The Provisional Government has been pledged from the beginning to obtain a pronouncement from the Allies on the Russian formula of no annexations and no indemnities. Such a statement Kerensky has failed to obtain. The collapse of the two Stockholm conferences has counted against him. The Bolsheviki have been arguing that the Provisional Government is not sincere enough or not strong enough in bringing pressure to bear on the Allies. It is testimony to Kerensky's resourcefulness that he has succeeded in making a stand against this gathering dissatisfaction, greatly strengthened by the fear of reaction that followed upon the Kornilov episode. That he can hold out indefinitely is far from certain. He must have been looking forward to the Allied Conference at Paris as the opportunity to redeem his pledge. But there only came Bonar Law's assertion of last week that the conference would not concern itself with war aims, but with war methods. Russia was once more to be left without an answer. The unspoken demand for such an answer rings through Kerensky's plea for "worn-out" Russia.

That there is clear recognition of this fundamental fact among British Liberals has been evident for some time. We have the forceful and courageous demand voiced by organs of opinion like the *Manchester Guardian* and the London *Nation* for a Government and a policy that shall come out into the full light of day on this crucial question of Allied war aims. The *Nation* asks whether the armies and the nations have not earned the right to know what they are called upon to die for. The *Guardian* declares that "if we have lost the effective fighting force of the Russian people, it is in no small measure due to the fact that we have let the Russian people believe that our aims exceed the limits of justice and necessity." The pity is that, while

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Lloyd George himself has declared that Great Britain holds her conquests for disposal by the peace conference, other British statesmen, officially subordinate to Lloyd George, have been permitted to create the contrary impression. For the Premier's single declaration we have had altogether too many assertions on the impossibility of handing back the German colonies. Lloyd George's statement has not been followed up by acts; whereas the claims of the Imperialists have been apparently backed up by the repeated postponement of that general statement of Allied policy for which Russia and the world have been waiting. Is there any wonder that suspicion of British aims flourishes in Russia under Bolsheviki agitation?

Just how the silence of the Allies reacts to their disadvantage in Russia appears from a summary of the Bolsheviki programme in the New York *World* of Sunday, as put out by the most active field leader of the party, Leon Trotsky, chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. Trotsky makes the distinction between a separate peace for Russia and "separate action" by Russia. He brushes aside the Paris Conference and advocates an attempt to reach the German people directly, by every possible means—fraternization between the armies among them, no doubt—"including millions of proclamations dropped by aeroplanes to urge the German people to revolt and join us in a demand for peace." "And if the Germans fail to revolt and pay no attention to your offers?" "Then every soldier in the Russian army will know he is fighting to save the Revolution. If Germany refuses, they will fight like lions." We need not enter into a discussion of the practical nature of such a programme. So far, "separate action" by Russia, in the form of fraternization, has disorganized the Russian army without affecting the fighting capacity of the Germans. The mutinies in the German navy may be a beginning, but the uprising of the German people against the Kaiser is not yet in sight. Nevertheless it may be noted that on the surface the Bolsheviki plan is not a direct menace to the Allies. It urges peace only with a revolutionized Germany. To that extent the Bolsheviki are less pro-German than President Wilson, who is willing to talk peace with a Germany liberalized, and not necessarily in full revolution.

It would be robbing the Bolsheviki programme—whether sincere or specious hardly matters—of its appeal, if the Allies themselves were to make their statement to the German people. If the leaders of the Bolsheviki sneer at the Paris Conference, it is largely because there is as yet no such conference, and because its usefulness has been injured in advance by mischievous statements like those of Bonar Law. With the Allied representatives actually in session and earnestly and openly addressing themselves to the German people there would be less readiness among the Russian people to base their hopes on millions of proclamations dropped from Bolsheviki aeroplanes. We know that the President's reply to the Pope, with its disclaimer of a war of vindictiveness and conquests, with its expressed readiness to do business with a responsible German Government, has already set profound forces at work inside Germany. The German press has uttered the conventional sneers at Herr Wilson, but the German people are establishing that control over their government for which the President asked. If the Allies at Paris can translate the President's note into concrete terms, they will at the same time be strengthening their offensive against Kaiserism and their defences in revolutionary Russia. The votes in the Provisional Parliament at Petrograd and in the municipal elections all over Russia have shown that there are forces of moderation which could easily be organized against the menace of a separate peace, if only Kerensky's hands were not tied by the Allies' hesitation to speak out.

The New Food Control

PROBABLY never in our history has the Government taken a step in commercial regulation coming nearly so close home to the bosoms and businesses of the people as it took on November 1 in initiating the licensing of intermediate trades in food staples. Under the President's proclamation of October 8 about twenty important and inclusive classes of food are brought under Federal control. Virtually the whole machinery of manufacture and distribution of these classes is answerable to Federal pressure. All food brokers, commission men, wholesalers, jobbers, warehousemen, importers, and grain elevator men, not previously licensed, are required to take out licenses, in most cases without reference to the size of their business. Manufacturers of these foods must be licensed, and only those meat packers, canners, millers, egg packers, ginners, etc., who do a very small business are exempt. All retailers whose gross sales of food exceed $100,000 yearly are licensed. In practical operation, the plan will affect smaller retailers also; for it is explicitly provided by Mr. Hoover that no licensee shall "knowingly sell any food commodity to any person who shall, after this regulation goes into effect, violate the provisions" of the Food Administration Act; and wholesalers and jobbers will be furnished with information concerning small retailers who hoard or extort. It affects manufacturers and dealers who are not concerned in the twenty classes of staples. The Specialty Manufacturers' Association, representing nearly a billion in proprietary foods, has outlined a huge scheme of coöperation.

In short, so far as the chief necessaries are concerned, the plan is so comprehensive that even without the free cooperation which businesses indirectly affected have offered, it ought to be effective in keeping prices to the minimum. The Food Administration Act has for weeks forbidden manipulation or speculation, excessive profits, discriminatory practices, and waste. The licensing system is simply a means to enforce these prohibitions. The regulations upon which the licenses are granted are not fully formulated and will doubtless grow stricter, though Mr. Hoover makes it clear that he hopes to do most of his work by awakening a spirit of public service. The trade journals of the grocery wholesalers and retailers have intimated how coercion, if found necessary, will be applied. It is assumed that Mr. Hoover and his experts at Washington and in the States have fixed upon the normal operating cost of a great wholesale establishment, say, and upon the proper profit; a writer in the *New England Grocer and Tradesman* suggests 10 per cent. for the one and 2½ per cent. for the other. By means of the written returns which the Food Administrator requires of all licensees, and by his power of inspecting all books, any marked variation above this rough suggested margin of 12½ per cent. on turnover would at once catch the attention of the Food Administration, and the license would quickly be revoked. It will be possible to deal likewise with manufacturers and with jobbers; many of the former may, of course, imitate the millers and refiners by entering into voluntary and just agreements. The publication of data on the proper prices

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of staples will enable the retailers to complain of wholesalers guilty of improper practices, and the public to complain of shifty retailers.

The benefits the public has reaped from national control over wheat and sugar are patent. With licensing, voluntary agreement, and coöperation receiving immensely broader scope, we may hope for substantial reductions in some foods, and for full protection against any reflection in extortionate prices of a shortage of others. The Government is now in control of the slaughter-houses, packing plants, and meat warehouses, and we read that meat is coming out of storage and falling 3 to 5 cents a pound. During November the Food Administration is to push the sale of potatoes, believing that shipping and handling in bulk and brief storage will lower costs. The grocers of the nation have promised to concentrate effort upon the sale of substitutes for white flour and meat; and 50,000 salesmen are to give part or all their time to showing grocers how to make attractive displays of economical foods. The retailers in convention promised to encourage the sale of "articles of food cheap but good in quality in place of high-priced staples." The National Wholesale Grocers' Association urges all wholesale grocers to arrange with manufacturers for larger supplies of cornmeal, rye, and oat products. Organizations and organs for the distribution and selling of food, the country over, seem to be conducting a campaign to induce retailers to stop soliciting orders; to reduce deliveries to one daily for a family or route; for coöperation in delivery; and for the sale of products like prunes, oats, cornmeal, and rice in bulk and for cash. The important principle has been laid down by Mr. Hoover that it is the delivered cost of food to jobber, wholesaler, and merchant which is to decide the price on resale, and not market conditions at the time of resale. No one is to profit by fluctuations upward while he holds goods in stock.

To awaken millions of families to the conservation of food, to educate millions of producers to maximum effort, to banish greed from the business of hundreds of thousands of distributers, have been the Food Administration's three tasks. The third presented immensely the greatest difficulties. Yet the spirit of dealers in promising to stick to margins offering a living profit and to increase efficiency, the alacrity with which commission men are engaging to discourage all speculation on the one hand and to help constructively on the other by such steps as seeing that all cars are full, the assurances of most distributers that they will do their best to bring recalcitrants into line are highly encouraging. The difficulties will doubtless appear; there will be instances large and small of profiteering, and the punishment will have to be applied here and there; there will be want of system and coördination at times. But we have reason to look forward to seeing the Government using its laws and licenses less as a whip than as a guiding rein.

The Luther Anniversary

CELEBRATION last week of the four hundredth anniversary of Martin Luther's nailing up of his theses gainst indulgences was much less general and enthusiastic han it would have been but for the war. Had the day ome around with world-conditions what they were early n 1914, it would have roused the widest echoes. There ould have been commemorative gatherings in all Protesant countries. Greetings with German Lutherans would have been exchanged. There would have been pilgrimages to Erfurt and Wittenberg and the Wartburg. Inevitably, the war has changed all that.

It need not prevent, however, quiet revaluation of what was an earth-shaking event. That such it was, all can now see, though at the time bystanders saw in it only the irreverent act of an audacious monk. Luther himself did not see at the time all that was involved in his defiance of Papal authority. He came forward avowedly as a faithful son of the Church, anxious only to stamp out abuses and to reform ecclesiastical discipline. From the first, of course, he was favored by those German rulers who wished, for reasons unlike his, to resist the dictation of the Pope in temporal matters, and to prevent, above all, the levying of Papal taxes upon their subjects. But it was only by slow degrees that the full import of the reforming movement was perceived. That the times were ripe for it, the swift triumphs which it won would alone be enough to show. Macaulay recited the list of the nations in Northern Europe which, within fifty years after Luther's bold initiative, were torn from their ancient allegiance to the Catholic Church. Whatever else may be said of the Reformation, it was a great uprising of the human spirit. It was a mighty response to the new knowledge then flowing in upon men's minds. It was a widening of horizons, a rending of veils, a liberating of the faculties of the soul of man.

Without paradox, it may be said that the Catholic Church itself owes much to Luther. His theological doctrines were and have remained abhorrent to it. His idea of a church without Pope or bishops was anathema to it. But his vehement assaults upon the laxity of morals and the decay of discipline and the kind of luxurious indifference to true religion which had crept in among the higher clergy, had sympathizers within the Church itself. In fact, the counter-movement which the Reformation set up among the Catholics, the great Catholic Revival which ensued in Southern Europe, aimed as much at moral reforms within as the winning back of heretics and unbelievers without. Discipline was restored. Religious fervor was exalted and rewarded. From the Pope down a new spirit was infused into the hierarchy. Missions and charities got a fresh lease of life. Loyola came after Luther.

As the stirring deeds of the early Reformation days recede into the past, as historical research sets the whole period in a truer light, old passions and animosities tend to soften. Juster views come to the open-minded among both Protestants and Catholics. It is seen, for example, how much both have in common, along with the vital differences which still separate them. The flight of time has not dimmed Luther's glory in standing up at the risk of his life for the right of private judgment, but it has necessarily wrought changes in the material with which he worked. The progress of Biblical study, since his day, has rendered impossible at present the uncritical use of the Scriptures which he was in the habit of making. This may be partly what was in the mind of the professor of theology who on the anniversary delivered an address on the subject of "Luther and the Unfinished Reformation." What science has done to modify profoundly man's conception of the universe is another mighty element of change. Neither the reasonings nor the procedure of Luther could entirely satisfy the world as we now know it. But we believe that men will never grow away from their instinctive admiration of heroism and sincerity and faith such as he showed when

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he dared to challenge the mightiest power on earth in the name of truth, and to face his frowning accusers with the firm word that it was right to obey God rather than men. It was an immortal vindication of the majesty of the human conscience. Since Luther, it has been easier for men to say that it is a shame to stand in God's creation and doubt truth's sufficiency.

"Not by Bread Alone"

WHILE the war between Right and Wrong refuses to end, it is all-important to know the answer to one question: "Are the French people holding out?"

In each wave of depression, naturally flowing, skilfully blown, the question is raised. Its discussion has brought with it one of the slighter compensations of war—a rectification of spelling, at the expense, however, of pronunciation. I speak of "moral" *versus* "morale."

In my oldest copy of Noah Webster's constitution of the American language, I find neither. He foreboded our questionings, marking under "Moral" (noun) a sense from Prior—"practice of the duties of life." It is not much used, he adds. Americans may not have been familiar with this sense of the word, but we know now the example of it which the French people have given ever since war began.

Noah Webster realized it, writing out his Dictionary on the corner of the kitchen table, which was all his *angusta res domi* offered. There he learned in practice what his Connecticut neighbor Joel Barlow told him in verse: that the *differentia specifica* of "Johnny-cake" was not that the "meal of maize" should be "mixed with water and baked on the hearth." No, it was an additional luxury of their homely fare; and his great-grandson, who is the present pastor of the American church in Paris, knows as little of it as the rest of our generation.

> Some talk of *Hoe-cake*, fair Virginia's pride!
> Rich *Johnny-cake* this mouth hath often tried;
> Both please me well, their virtues much the same,
> Allied their fabric as alike their fame,
> Except in dear New England, where the last
> Receives a dash of pumpkin in the paste,
> To give it sweetness and improve the taste.

This is but a far-away melody for Thanksgiving of Colonials issuing from their War of Independence. Like Béranger's *Jenny l'Ouvrière*—the Paris working girl watering her box of mignonette at her garret window-sill—they were "always content, content with little." In "content" there is Latin tension and holding out.

With his delightful philology, Noah Webster gnawed away at "moral": "The elements of this word are probably Mr; but I know not the primary sense. The word coincides in elements with Arabic *marra*, to pass, to walk. If the original sense of the Latin *mos, moris*, was settled custom, the word may be from the root of *moror*, to stop, delay; English *demur*."

For three years and this fourth winter, the French people, soldiers and civilians as one, are holding out with the spirit and contention of Washington and his Americans at Valley Forge. They have passed and walked and stopped and delayed German invasion until war has become their settled custom. They have but one demur now the rigors of another winter are beginning—it is against talk of ineffectual peace.

As an experienced Paris householder, before and during the war, I may be trusted when I say that real food restrictions are scarcely yet felt in France. Sugar has been rationed, bread has been coarsened. Benjamin Thomson, on whose tombstone at Roxbury was engraved "Learned schoolmaster and physician, and ye renowned poet of New England," wrote "during the famous wars of Philip, Sachem of the Pequods," one hundred years before our Independence, that the unrestricted use of sugared things was a sign of the times and not to the colonists' advantage. His *muscovado* was still the delight of my own childhood, and I cannot distinguish it in fond recollection from the golden unrefined sugar which is all my cook now serves me in Paris.

> Then times were good, merchants cared not a rush
> For other fare than jonakin and mush—
> 'Ere wines from France and Muscovadoe, too,
> Without the which the drink will scarcely doe—
> From western isles 'ere fruits and delicacies
> Did rot maids' teeth and spoil their handsome faces.

There is even talk in France of mixing the meal of maize with the flour of bread, to make the supply of wheat last longer. Potato flour, rice, and buckwheat, which the Bretons use in cakes hot and cold, are also proposed for the mixing. I have not heard the pumpkin mentioned, although French cooks make it into a heart-comforting thick soup as the autumn chills grow into winter. To Benjamin Thomson, a hundred years before Joel Barlow's luxury, it was the sign of stout-hearted times:

> The times wherein old Pompion was a saint,
> When men fared hardly yet without complaint,
> On vilest cates; the dainty Indian maize
> Was eat with clamp-shells out of wooden trayes,
> Under thatched huts without the cry of rent,
> And the best sawce to every dish, content.

Here we are again with "content," which has within itself the holding out. It is not unallied with food plenty—and this still encourages France. On my way back from the devastated regions, I met a Detroit doctor going to and fro the hospitals of the rear. "I have never eaten as I have done since I am in France," he remarked by the way.

> My grandmother has said
> —Poor old lady, she is dead—

that the superfine Americans of her childhood pronounced "pump-yun" and spelled "pompion," like Benjamin Thomson in his sublime moments. Noah Webster acknowledges this is the English name of the "Cucurbita pepo"; and he connects it internationally with the Dutch and nationally with an American use of "pomace"—"the substance of apples or similar fruit crushed by grinding." This was in New England cider-making—and we have still apples and cider and hot roast-chestnuts, too—*chauds, les marrons chauds*—at Paris street-corners.

Looking over his sheets of closely written paper spread out before him in the limited space allotted him at the kitchen table, Noah Webster noted that "pumpkin" is the common orthography of the word in the United States Doubtless he pronounced it so, with a schoolmaster's preciseness, but I have my doubts about Joel Barlow. Both would willingly have said of the French to-day as they did of Lafayette and his men in their time—"they are some pumpkins!" It may be only a pitiful smile to fore

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stall tears, but in my nearly fifty years of living with the French I am more struck now than ever with their essential resemblance to our own oldest inhabitants.

> Although men fared and lodged very hard,
> Yet innocence was better than a guard.
> —Then had the churches rest; as yet the coales
> Were covered up in most contentious souls:
> Freeness in judgment, union in affection,
> Dear love, sound truth, they were our grand protection.
> Then were the times in which our councells sate,
> These gave prognosticks of our future state.
> If these be longer liv'd our hopes increase,
> These warrs will usher in a longer peace.

So Benjamin Thomson prophesied in 1675 for New England; and so still prophesies the Union Sacrée of the French, otherwise contentious, but now with all the tension of their bodies and souls in holding out.

STODDARD DEWEY

Paris, October 20

The Arabian Situation

IN that situation the fundamental present fact is an antithesis between Arab and Turk. Behind lie geographical and historical elements conditioning the situation and motiving the fact. Normally in the development of civilization there has been a stage of conflict between the nomad hunter and raiser of cattle and the settled farmer and tiller of the soil. But that elsewhere transitory stage is permanent in the relation between Arabia and the surrounding more fertile countries. For this permanence there are adequate causes. Geographically and economically Arabia is a practical island separated from the rest of the world either by seas or by even more divisive barriers of sand. Mountain ranges fringe the sea-coasts; tracts of shifting and barren sands separate from Syria; great reaches of desert pasture-land stretch towards Mesopotamia and Persia. Within are more stretches of pasture-land, fertile only under the spring rains; great mountain ranges, seamed with deep ravines; rare hollows with oases permanently green. Strikingly apart from this, except as to inaccessibility, is the Yemen, the extreme southern tip of the peninsula, a land of ancient culture and wealth, of water courses and crops, cities, and settled life.

Thus Arabia is a standing illustration and demonstration of the Malthusian law. Its population has always trembled on the verge of starvation, and its great export has been men. For these the drift has always been outward. They might pass out in flood or in a steady trickle over the boundaries of sand or sea. The floods would consist of raids, great or small, sweeping the surrounding fertile lands and settling down in their conquests or ebbing back, laden with booty, to their deserts. The trickling would be a more peaceful penetration by nomads slipping over into farmers through intermediate stages of cattle farming—Job was one of these—or by traders and their followers going to seek fortune beyond the seas. So the population of the southeastern coasts is linked with Malasia and even with China, and the Sultanate of Oman held, for long, Zanzibar as part of its realm. On the other hand, Arabia has proved extremely hard to invade and practically impossible to conquer. For lack of supplies invading armies have always in the end been withdrawn, and such fortified posts as they may have left have been gradually submerged and finally abandoned. "And how many a well has been deserted and how many a lofty palace!" says the Qur'an, and such is the over-song of the Arab on all settlements in his land.

On another side, and by paradox, the salt, unplumbed, estranging sea has estranged less than the dry stretches of desert sand. Across the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and through the Persian Gulf, and even through the Mediterranean, the paths have lain easy to Africa, India and beyond, and the Arabs of the south and east have been sea-rovers, merchants, pirates, emigrants from all time. But within, in spite of their recognition—reached even before the time of Mohammed—that by unity of language and type of life and literature they were all Arabs, they were split up into separate and often hostile tribes in districts geographically divided by mountains or shifting sands. Thus they lived their life of flocks and herds, following pasture within their tribal limits, and roughly cultivating what little pockets of soil each had. Their history was of cattle-lifting raids, producing often blood-feuds, and of the rise and fall in power and even hegemony of the different tribes—an endless skirmishing of kites and crows. But behind it all brooded the consciousness of Arabia, fostered by a strange, concrete yet subjective poetry, which once, at least, rose to be one of the great poetries of the world, and awaiting the time when it was to supply a new ferment among the peoples of the world.

That came with Mohammed and the Moslem conquests. Whatever Islam may have meant, or may mean, as religion it meant in the relation of Arabia and the world, that the Arab tribes were turned from their raiding of one another to a great raid on the lands without. Thenceforth there were to be no more Arab tribes, but only Arabs, Moslems arrayed against non-Moslems; and Arabia, instead of many blood-feuds within itself, was to have but one blood-feud against all without itself. It is tolerably plain, also, that before and with the appearance of Mohammed there had come an economic and racial crisis within Arabia. Unrest had stirred the Arabs for at least a century; influences had worked from without; poetry had shot up into flower; population had increased and was beating against the barriers. No one can say exactly what relative value each of these elements had; but all were at work. And, under their influence, the Arabs were for a time a nation not only in idea, but in working.

Then came the Moslem Empire, a huge complex of lands and races. The Arabs remained as a ferment, small but vitally dominant; or else they drifted back to their old life in Arabia. And Arabia again stood apart, as separate as before from the world around save in one point. It was —and is—a practical necessity for whatever power, Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, Ottoman, claimed the headship of the Moslem world that it should control—"guard" and "serve" are the canonical expressions—the two sacred cities of Mecca and Medina and protect the pilgrimage routes to these. The pilgrimage is one of the great duties upon all Moslems, and the place where it must be carried out is, therefore, a sacred ground common to all Moslems. That common, sacred soil must, therefore, be held by a Moslem ruler of power, dignity, and independence adequate for the required security. Historically, this has meant the Caliph

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of the time, although there have been short periods of break by insurrection or conquest. The temporary loss of the Sacred Cities cannot, then, mean loss of title to the Caliphate; but, conversely, no one can hold them with a good title who cannot guarantee the security of Moslems on their way to Mecca and when carrying out the pilgrimage ritual there. In other respects, the desert and its peoples have since been for the surrounding world of Islam nearly as strange and full of fear as for Christendom. The shadowy knight who lies behind Sir John Mandeville's narrative and who had been a soldier of fortune with the Soldans of Egypt is the voice of Islam when he says of the Bedawin that "they be right felonous and foul and of cursed kind."

Apart from this peculiar situation in the sacred territory, Arabia under Islam has known only two periods of foreign dominance, and both affected only the separate and fertile Yemen, or southern Arabia. In A. D. 1173 the Kurdish Ayyubids, the kinsfolk of Saladin, conquered the Yemen, as they had done Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, and held it for half a century until 1228, when the fate of the incomer in Arabia overtook them. Similarly the Ottomans in their sweep of southern conquest took the Yemen in 1517, but had to leave it again in 1633. They, however, returned in 1871 and have since maintained a dubious control of fortified posts. At present a Turkish army is isolated there, having its centre, apparently, in the old Himyarite hill-town of San'a, but operating as far south as Aden. There, between the deserts swarming with hostile Arabs and the sea held by the British navy, it awaits the end of the war. The recent capture of the island and roadstead of Qamaran by the British is evidently connected with this army, as from there the most direct route runs up the mountains to San'a. Mecca and Medina with the route thither the Turks have held, with one break, since the conquest in 1517. That break was the Wahhabite revolt at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century and the subsequent reconquest of the Hijaz by troops sent from Egypt by Mohammed Ali. To this expedition we owe our first accurate and detailed information on these cities and the surrounding territory. It was a miscellaneous host which Mohammed Ali led, and one member, fortunately, was the Swiss Orientalist, Burckhardt, whose descriptions are still of primary value. Another was that one-time sergeant in the Black Watch who added a unique item to the honors of a unique regiment by acting for a time as Governor of Medina and guardian of the tomb of Mohammed. So, at least, is the story; he himself has left no record behind.

But all this time there had persisted in these sacred cities the cult, in an intensified form, of the Blood of Mohammed. For Islam his multitudinous descendants constitute a class of nobility, the only infraction of Moslem democracy. They are called Sharīfs (Shereefs), "nobles" and those of the sacred territory have a peculiar status. They have dominated the native population and all secular government, imposed from without, has had to take account of them. There has grown up, thus, an *imperium in imperio*, and since about A. D. 1200 one family, that of Qatāda, has been supreme in Mecca. It has been practically a reigning house, although it has always recognized the suzerainty of the Caliph of the time, expressed in a garrison and a military commandant. Even the Turks, after their conquest, found it impracticable to make the Hijaz into an ordinary province (*vilayet*), although the military and civil machinery of a province was set up in Mecca. They might depose a refractory Sharif, but another of his family had always to be put in his place. The Sharifate itself they could not get rid of. With that institution was bound up in the popular mind, also, the sacred canon law, the codes based upon the Qur'an and the recorded decisions of the Prophet himself. From the earliest times the actual rulers of Islam had found it necessary to override and supersede these codes by others of non-religious origin, much as, in a Roman Catholic country, the canon law of the Church and a civil law may stand side by side. So the Turks had done by *force majeure* and always against the protests of the pious. In Mecca, with the backing of the Sharifate, this religious and constitutional conservatism was naturally strong. There, if anywhere, the tradition of Islam would be preserved, and the Moslem world would find not only a centre for ritual, but an actual rallying point round the realities of the Faith.

But Mecca is not only the centre of Islam; it is also the centre of the Arabic-speaking world. Wherever the living tongue of the Arabs has gone the people, whatever their blood or history, call themselves Arabs. So strongly and strangely has the Arab ferment worked. Thus a Syrian Christian of the most multifarious lineage—in the last analysis a Canaanite or a Phœnician—will lump himself in with the Arabs and claim the Qur'an as part of his literature. Upon all these peoples, then, the Turks, from the beginning, came as foreign and alien conquerors. The fact that they were Moslems did not save matters much for them, even with the Moslems. They were most effective rulers, but that did not improve their standing; and for centuries Islam was broken sharply in two at the language frontier on the Taurus. Then came the revolution with its promises of unity. But the Committee of Unity and Progress understood that unity in a highly centralized and Ottomanized form. All were to become Ottomans, and the Arab was actually asked to give up his language—"the tongue of the angels" and his essential nationality—for the Ottoman dialect of western Turkish. It is a possibility that the Turkish Empire might have weathered the storm as a decentralized union of loosely confederated states; but the Arabic Moslem had as strong an objection as the Arabic Christian to any "turning Turk." This same madness elsewhere drove the Albanians to revolt, and everywhere shook the allegiance of the non-Turkish population. Repressions of the Turkish type followed, and Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia began to seethe with revolt. Then came the war, and the Arabic peoples realized that they were being dragged into an unholy alliance. The call to the Holy War failed to move them. The prestige of the Ottoman Sultan had been fatally undermined by the revolution and the parliamentary form of government. Not thus had it been with the old believing Sultans of the Ottomans. And the Committee was seen plainly as a band of flat unbelievers, who had gained control at Constantinople. Stories began to fly that they had relapsed into their old pre-Moslem heathenism, and a Turkish prayer which the soldiers were required to recite every evening was interpreted as addressed to a certain White Wolf (*Būzqūrt*), an asserted ancient Turkish deity (*The Qibla*, a newspaper published at Mecca, for 27th. Muharram, A. H. 1335, Nov. 23d., 1916). This may be doubted, but it is certain that the Committee has done everything possible to Ottomanize and de-Arabize the ritual and usages of the populace. They have been directed, for example, to put ancient Turkish heroes in the places of the fathers of the Moslem faith and to find their ideals in a New Turan

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(*Yenī Tūrān*) rather than in the life of the desert. That the Committee has tried to remove from the Turkish vocabulary words of Arabic origin is only following Teutonic example. And they could probably defend the teaching of "heresy" in schools, of which the same Meccan newspaper accuses them, and the abandonment of previous "agreements" of the Moslem people on law as unavoidably required by the "progress" in their title.

Added to all this came the systematic German oppression of Syria and the economic distress which followed. And for Arabia, if there was less actual blood letting, the economic situation was even more serious. The grain essential to it comes by sea, and that supply was cut off, as it might go to feed Turkish garrisons. There was no great surprise, then, when the news came last year that the Druses, the most warlike of the Syrian tribes, had abandoned the plains of Hauran. It meant to those who understood that they had risen in revolt and taken refuge in their inaccessible Mountain. Then came the rising in June in the Hijaz, when the Great Sharif denounced the Committee and all their works, but still acknowledged the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan. The Turkish forts at Mecca, Jidda, and Ta'if were captured, but the garrison at Medina held out and still, apparently, holds out. Its fall, however, cannot be far off, as it is completely surrounded, and the railway line to Syria is cut. In September came a long proclamation of independence of Turkey, and on November 11 a cable reached Washington requesting recognition for a sovereign state having its capital at Mecca. On December 2 a protest reached Washington against Turkish atrocities at Medina, where the fort evidently still dominated the town, and in January of this year it was learned that the Great Sharif had taken the title of King *(malik)* of the Hijaz.

The new state has been rapidly organized. Since August, 1916, a bi-weekly newspaper, *al-Qibla*, of the familiar Egyptian type, has been appearing in Mecca, with editorials on the state and its organization and criticisms of the Committee and its policies. Naturally it is a Government organ; but its policy is evidently that of the widest publicity, joined with a campaign of education, addressed to all Islam on behalf of the Arabs, as opposed to the Turks. It considers, too, the present admitted weakness of Islam, and explains it through the abandonment of Arab religion and civilization. Of course there was never any Arab civilization; but that is another matter. The first Pilgrimage under the new régime took place last October with a total attendance of about 12,000. There was a special deputation of notables from French North Africa, and they brought back an enthusiastic report on the new, "hygienic Mecca, with no assassins or robbers about." So there seems to be no question of the newspaper sense and business and advertising ability of the new Government. According to the latest reports the Arabs now control across the south of the Dead Sea and join the British in the Sinai Peninsula. The Red Sea ports are, of course, again open, and communication with Egypt and India is resumed.

Strictly this affects only a small part of Arabia. Arab poets may address odes to the Great Sharif as "King of the Arabs," but his official title is only King of the Hijaz, and he will be very cautious about claiming any more. The Arab tribes are notoriously independent, and, so far as the outside world knows, have not acted together since the time of Mohammed and of the early conquests of Islam. Even then, some were lukewarm and worse. It will, therefore, be in point to consider the positions taken up by the other elements in Arabia. Of the maritime states to the east, Kuweit, Bahren, Oman, little need be said. The Persian Gulf has known English control since the seventeenth century, a control which is the oldest element in the British Empire. It has known also the Turks, and has no desire for further knowledge. The population of Oman, also, is Ibadite, a sect of Puritans, dissenting and protesting from the earliest Moslem history and standing apart from both Sunnites and Shi'ites. No call to a Holy War from a schismatic Ottoman Caliph would affect them. The great valley of Hadramaut has sent its sons over the farthest seas and is more cosmopolitan than any other part of Arabia. It, too, has little use for Ottoman-German dreams. The Yemen is a land where recorded history reaches into Babylonian times. Since the renewed occupation by the Turks, in 1871, it has been fighting them; and at Sa'da and San'a there has been, and is, a line of Imams, of the Zaidite branch of the Shi'ites, which dates its foundation back to a certain Rassi in A. D. 860. The Zaidites are very modified Shi'ites, holding principally to the divine right to rule inherent in the blood of the Prophet, and thus have found it possible to work together with the Sharifs of Mecca. In Athir, or Asir, a district on the Red Sea, a certain Imam Idrisi has been in insurrection against the Turks since, at least, the Turko-Italian war. The present Great Sharif assisted the Turks then in relieving the Turkish garrison of Obha and securing for it a safe retreat. Now, naturally, he is at one with Idrisi and his followers. In the interior there are two states, settled round greater oases, which have made the politics of central Arabia for about a century. One, to the southeast at Riyad, is all of the Wahhabite empire that maintains independence. Once it threatened Syria and Egypt, and, indeed, the Moslem world, but now it is limited to a little island in the deserts. But it is still war-like and maintains the traditions of the earliest Islam. It is, in fact, a revival of the ideals of the monkish state of Medina under the first successors of Mohammed. To the north, at Hayil, is the dynasty of the Ibn Rashids. It may be best compared to the Arab court of the Umayyads at Damascus. The Ibn Rashids are orthodox Sunnite Moslems; but they wear their religion more lightly than do the austere Wahhabites to the southeast of them. They appreciate literature and poetry and the joy of life. Between them and Ibn Sa'ud at Riyad lies the headship of inner Arabia. Now one and now the other has held it. But, invariably, up till now, on every question they have taken opposite sides. Now the report is that Hayil and Riyad, the Ibn Rashids and Ibn Sa'ud have gone the same way and denounced the suzerainty of Turkey—for them, it is true, very shadowy. As for the Bedawi tribes of Mesopotamia and the northern deserts, they, since the capture of Bagdad, seem to have thrown in their lot with the British.

Arabia, in face of a common enemy, is again united after twelve centuries. If the Great Sharif has dreams of the Caliphate, nothing will gain it for him but prestige, independence, and security. The last will be especially hard to maintain. The Bedawi tribes understand nothing but plunder or blackmail, and the rival states at Hayil and Riyad are certain to get by the ears again. Above all, he must hold to his independence. There has been only one line of "kept" Caliphs, the Abbasids of Egypt, and their only claim to remembrance is that they were the legal link by which the Caliphate was passed on to the Ottoman Sultans.

D. B. MACDONALD

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Finland and Russia

IT is difficult to form an idea of what is happening in Finland at present if one has no other source of information than the contradictory reports in the American press. By the aid of European newspapers and private letters, it is possible, however, to construct some kind of a short history of Finland since the Russian Revolution.

One of the first acts of the first Russian revolutionary Government was to restore all the laws of Finland which the Czars had broken. A new Governor-General, Mr. Stakhovitch, who had the reputation of being a liberal-minded man, was sent to Finland. Mr. Stakhovitch, however, started his rule in an unfortunate way by dismissing Finnish officials and replacing them by Russians, and also by allowing Russians of the old régime to remain in office, all of which meant a breach of the newly restored laws. The Finns, who are politically one of the most wide-awake nations in Europe, and whom long oppression has made suspicious, at once altered their attitude. Little pin-pricks on both sides did not improve the situation. Nevertheless, much could even then have been done by some understanding and good-will on both sides.

The young Premier, Kerensky, came to Finland to mend matters. He talked profusely and used big words, announcing that "blood and iron" was to be his remedy. The intention was no doubt good, but the result was just the opposite. One of the many psychological differences between the Russians and the Finns worked mischief. The Russians love discussion, the Finns hate it. Suspicion grew on both sides. The Social Democrats of Finland, who had an absolute majority in the Diet, holding 103 seats out of a total of 200, voted for Finnish independence. Two of the three Bourgeois parties declared that they were for independence, but wished the question to be referred to the coming Russian National Congress. The smallest Bourgeois party, the Young Finns, made no declaration at all. In Russia, the Constitutional Democrats, together with some of the Mensheviki and a few of the Social Revolutionists, declared that they would never consent to Finnish independence. The rest of the Mensheviki and the Social Revolutionists demanded that the question should be decided at the Russian National Congress. The Bolsheviki were for Finnish independence at once. Then the Russian Government dissolved the Finnish Diet and forbade it to assemble; but the Russian Soldiers' and Workingmen's Committee in Helsingfors decided that the measure was illegal and promised protection to the Diet, which assembled again.

Very recently the Diet has declared Finland a republic and the Finns are to elect a President. It is to be assumed that the cautious Finns have sounded the Russian sentiment beforehand, and found it favorable to this most important move. It is also reported that Sweden contemplates the seizure of the Aland Islands, which, so the report says, are vital to the defence of the country. Certainly never before the war did they possess this strategic value. In the Treaty of Nystad, Russia bound herself never to fortify Aland, but the treaty was apparently one of those scraps of paper for which Europe has become famous. During the war Russia built strong fortresses on Aland in spite of Swedish protests. It is true that Russia promised to raze the fortifications after the war, but Sweden seems to suspect that this might prove to be another scrap of paper. If, on the other hand, we may hope that fortifications everywhere will be eliminated after this war, by the will of the peoples, the question of Aland changes from a strategic problem to a question of the desires of the population. As the inhabitants of the islands are purely Swedish, they would most likely prefer to be united with Sweden.

The very latest news from Finland announces that already deaths from starvation have occurred there, and that the food situation looks hopeless. A large amount of grain was recently bought up in America and a sum paid in advance, but now the American Government has refused to allow its shipment. The Finns still hope that negotiations may prove successful; otherwise the death of thousands may be expected. Even in normal times, Finland cannot grow enough grain to feed the whole population. During the war the people have suffered terribly from the scarcity of food, and this year the frosts have destroyed crops to the extent that they are now two-thirds below normal. The cattle have been killed to feed the Russian army, and the people in the northern part of Finland have lived all summer on bark bread and fish. In a couple of weeks, the lakes will be frozen, which means an end to the fish supply. Bark bread is made of the soft part of the pine bark *(cambium)*, mixed with some rye flour. It is black and bitter, and as it contains little nourishment, no one can live on it alone.

The Finns are bad advertisers, and hesitate to publish their sufferings abroad. That is perhaps the reason why the world has taken hardly any notice of them, or, if reminded of their existence, has treated the question in a half hostile manner. The Finns are called, if not exactly enemies, at least indifferent to the Allies' cause, without any indication given of the way in which they have shown their indifference. If they have declared their independence, is it not true that the freedom of small nations is supposed to be one of the chief aims of the Allies? Finland has faithfully kept its obligations, and the declaration of independence does not mean any hostility towards Russia. It only means that a whole century has taught the Finns that, for Russia as well as for Finland, to manage its own business will be the best solution of the problem. The Finnish people and the Russian people will never be enemies, and they can help each other appreciably as friends, if neither is itching to impose its will on the other.

It is impossible for an outsider to understand the Finnish question without some knowledge of the background. In view of the present situation, readers will therefore welcome the appearance of a volume* dealing with the complexities of Finland's past history.

Mr. Reade has more or less successfully avoided that irritating air of benevolent superiority which is so often assumed by members of powerful nations towards the little nations. He has lived long enough in Finland to have learned the ways and peculiarities of the people, even if he at times mixes the fundamental and the temporary.

In the beginning of his book he gives a short historical sketch of the country, which as a whole is correct. Finland was left alone till the middle of the twelfth century, when the Swedes came over to convert the heathen Finns to Christianity and, of course, took possession of the country. It remained under Swedish rule till 1809, when Russia, after a successful war with Sweden, got control.

During the Swedish period Finland suffered hardships

*Finland and the Finns. By Arthur Reade. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $2 net.

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of every possible kind. Wars, famine, and the black plague reduced her population to a few thousand. This population was left to its own resources in working out its salvation. The alleviating feature of this Swedish rule was that the laws were fairly liberal for that time, and there never was either slavery or serfdom in Finland. Hardly anything was done, however, for the Finns intellectually, perhaps because they belonged to a different race, and spoke a different language.

During the Swedish régime all schools were Swedish, and until the middle of the last century the ruling class remained Swedish. When the Finnish part of the population, practically nine-tenths, began to wake up, they naturally demanded the right that Finnish culture and the Finnish language should predominate in their own country. This resulted in a bitter fight between the Finns and the Swedes. The Finns were the winners, but the fight only lost its bitterness when peril threatened both groups, and they had to unite in their struggle against the common enemy. This happened in 1899 when Nicholas II started the era of ruthless oppression of Finland in his effort to Russify this heretofore practically independent Grand Duchy, and to lower it to the status of a Russian province.

The fight over the language, lamentable as it had been in many respects, had brought about some good results. Because of the great competition between these two groups, both had developed their resources to the utmost. The Finns, who in 1809 were a handful of unknown semi-barbarians, could ninety years later proudly point to the statistics which showed that they now stood among the highly civilized nations of Europe.

Russia's oppression, beginning in 1899, threatened to destroy all that had been built up during the century. It expressed itself in total disrespect for law and order. Loyal Finnish officials were dismissed, leading men imprisoned or exiled, free speech totally forbidden, and all kinds of corruption introduced. Life became more and more unendurable for every honest citizen.

After the Japanese War the revolutionary movement in Russia gained its first great victory. Russia received a constitution and a Duma. The same movement had its effect in Finland, too, and on October 31, 1905, the most miraculous thing happened: the whole nation went on strike. Mr. Reade disposes of this event by these words: "The Finns, by means of a general strike, which seems to have broken out simultaneously, from an instinctive recognition of the psychological moment for striking a blow for freedom, induced the Emperor to recall all illegal ordinances and to restore the constitution on a wider basis." This explains nothing, and may easily be overlooked by the reader. But any one who overlooks it at the same time ignores the most important event in all Finnish history. It is important, not only because it made the Czar restore the laws of Finland, but because of the galvanizing effect it had and still has upon the Finns. It should be remembered that the Finns are a completely unarmed nation. Their national army had been dissolved and all weapons confiscated. If they were to "strike a blow for freedom," this blow had to take the form of self-conscious passive resistance. So great was the psychological effect of this calm, bloodless, demonstration that the Russian soldiers who were sent to suppress it, refused to shoot. It was from this experience that the Finns drew new courage for a continued struggle when aggression was renewed. The miracle happened once: it might happen again. The new oppression began shortly afterwards, and continued until the Russian revolution broke out.

Mr. Reade gives a short and admirable description of the high standing of Finnish literature, painting, and music, and also of education and industries. Besides this, he describes the position of the Finnish women, who were the first in Europe to gain full political rights. He then tries to explain the enormous growth of Socialism as being the outcome chiefly of the conditions of the landless population. He seems to have missed altogether the connection between the Socialist movement and the struggle for political as well as economic freedom.

A final chapter leads up to the March revolution. It is only natural that he should take a somewhat biassed view of the situation and tell us that the Finns must not dream of getting back to the days before the Russianization began, assuring them that the Finnish problem must be regarded as a part of the Russian imperial problem, which, so he believes, will be of the same kind as the imperial problem of the British Empire. I am inclined to think the Finns look upon this question from a totally different point of view, believing that all "imperial" problems belong to the past; that, instead, social and domestic problems will arise. Mr. Reade admits that, whatever the outcome of the war, certain small nations, Finland among them, have reason to view the future with a great deal of anxiety. This was certainly true a few months ago, but times are changing rapidly. The declaration of the first Russian revolutionary government advocating the right of all nations to decide their own fate, and President Wilson's oft-repeated words that America is fighting for "the right of all nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience," have given new hope to the oppressed nations, making them believe in a more just future.

AINO MALMBERG

Correspondence

IN THE LAND OF THE FREE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The attack upon Herbert S. Bigelow is a fair illustration of one of the loathsome by-products of war, whose ennobling influences have been extolled by Bernhardi and others of the tribe of Bartimeus. Even were this dastardly assault upon a Christian clergyman an isolated instance of this kind of brutal tyranny, the press of the entire country should rise as a man in denunciation of it, and all the machinery of our law be set in operation to capture and punish the criminals who attacked a clergyman for bravely maintaining the creed of his conscience.

At the very moment when our chiefest plaint against Germany is her inquisitional tyranny, her doctrine of might over right, shall such atrocious examples of the same spirit be tolerated in the land of the free and *the home of the brave? (Vide "a band of men in twenty-one automobiles against one man!")* Briefly stated, the creed of the military bully seems to be that the man who will not endorse killing as a profession shall be gagged or otherwise forced by savage Procrustean methods to abridge the intelligence his Maker gave him until it fits the perhaps scanter pattern of some more aboriginal mentality. If this intellectual and physical lynch law is to obtain in our land, then in the name of sincerity let us stop singing "Sweet Land of Lib-

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erty," and substitute instead, Grim Land of Tyranny. Neither let us hereafter dare raise a finger of dissent when men like Karl Liebknecht are jailed in Germany.

This does not mean that the writer of these paragraphs is a pacifist who would like to see her country stand afar off and recite beatitudes while a small but nobly great country was crushed under the iron heel of despotism. On the contrary, it seems to her that the selfish provincial and myopic patriotism which would lift no finger of succor in such a case would not be a patriotism of which any man should be proud. But while the evolved patriot will always hear the clank of a brother's chains, though that brother be a thousand leagues distant, and fly to his rescue, at the same time, if his patriotism is sufficiently evolved, it will include in its capacious understanding tolerance, which will prevent the commission of crimes in the same class with those it seeks to abolish.

When military megalomania has been cured by a huge effectual dose of its own vile medicine, and the cosmic slaughter-house made by this war is cleaned up, the world will perhaps have discovered that the only kind of patriotism which will make the world safe for democracy or anything else is the kind outlined by William Lloyd Garrison:

"My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind."

Accepting that evolved form of patriotism, no country will need to waste its time and energies in "military preparedness," or pervert to the grisly uses of destruction the God-given gifts of invention and discovery.

ELLEN BURNS SHERMAN

November 2

AMERICA'S PEACE TERMS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is unfortunate that in current discussions so much emphasis should be placed upon the unselfishness of America's motives in entering the war. Many practical men found it difficult in the case of England to believe that she was fighting primarily for the sake of Belgium. America's supposed commercialism has made the world even more reluctant to believe her prompted by humanitarian motives. The most incurable idealists cannot overlook the fact that the violation of Belgium and the Lusitania outrage failed to enlist this country in the conflict. There is no doubt that at the time of the actual declaration of war business men were very much concerned about the vast sums of money staked upon the success of the Allies. Was it the cause of democracy and the rights of small nations that brought about America's intervention, or was it the greed of business men who feared to lose capital which they had invested? This question is being answered with equal assurance in opposite ways.

It is a hopeless task to disentangle the web of motives lying behind the action either of an individual or of a nation. Even were it possible, it would rarely be profitable. Our acts often prove to be greater than the motives which prompted them. What is worth while now is to understand the significance of the work we are in and to do our part in it. We are in the war; we shall do our part in winning the war. What will the victory achieve for ourselves and for the world? Some things it cannot help achieving; others it can achieve if we choose that it shall. In so vast and divided a nation as this, it will need the persistent effort of all who clearly see this second group of ends to bring them to pass. They need advertising, and, moreover, advertising according to modern business methods.

The war already is bringing about a marvellous instrument of coöperation in the group of nations allied against the Central Powers. This coöperation is something far greater than sympathy or understanding, because durable sympathy and understanding can grow only out of practical coöperation. Decades of preaching and education could not have brought about the community of purpose and of a fellow-feeling which the war has produced. It will be a crime against civilization if this unsought international achievement is not utilized for greater purposes than war. It is true that the precise organization which is effective for war will not serve for peace. But a vast amount of practical experience has been gained upon which a peace organization may be based.

It is a mistake to suppose that war furnishes the chief international task, that rivalry is the chief international relationship. In world relationships, just as in business, rivalry has compelled coöperation on a gigantic scale. In both realms the principle must be extended. It will be extended. It is an absurd anachronism to suppose that the chief interests of the various nations are furthered by crippling their rivals. The undeveloped resources of the world are still limitless in extent. All productive industry ultimately will benefit the entire family of nations. Why should the world be so slow to recognize this fact? Again and again in past centuries it has seen one city crush another because of commercial rivalry, only to discover that in crushing its rival it had crippled itself. The great composite nations of modern times all have grown out of the acknowledgment of mutual dependence. Saxony, Bavaria, and Prussia found that they could combine to mutual advantage. The American Colonies, after a considerable period of mutual jealousy and rivalry, became convinced of their commercial and industrial solidarity. Why should the barrier of nationality be regarded as final? No racial or linguistic unity exists within the great nations. Their sovereignty has no more divine sanction than the sovereignty of the separate States of our Union, whose independent rights once were regarded as inalienable.

The Allied nations together certainly are winning the war. Shall they not now begin to work practically towards the greater end of making the winning of the war worth while? It will not be worth while if it leads to greater wars in the future. No force except positive and constructive coöperation is strong enough to maintain peace. May not America's chief contribution to this great world struggle be the invention of practical machinery for the furtherance of this end? A vast amount of international business has long been awaiting effective organization. America's political and business experience should give her especial fitness for this undertaking. Let her utilize her genius now. The task is directly in line with America's past achievement.

CLARA E. MILLARD

Grinnell College, Ia., October 30

[Our correspondent fails to recognize that the all too generous admissions at the outset of her letter would, if generally accepted, greatly impair the future efforts of this country at reconstruction. If, the Central Powers might say,

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America entered the war at the bidding of her capitalists, why should we not believe that her suggestions as to post-bellum settlements are prompted by similar self-interest? Only by maintaining just distinctions can we hope to substitute reason for force of arms.—ED. THE NATION.]

OUR FIRST DUTY TOWARDS GERMANY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Americans who have closely watched the developments of the war, and who do not take the President's statement of our unselfish object as mere cant, have come to realize that if international law and order are to be preserved the offenders against them must be prosecuted and judged. Your correspondent, Mr. Dole, sees injustice in the fact that Germany's enemies must be her judges; and apparently overlooking the inconsistency, he cites the mild and humane judgment, tempered with mercy, passed on the Confederacy after the Civil War by its conquerors.

I do not wish to recommend any special treatment for Germany, and I certainly should not quarrel with those who urge Christian treatment of a beaten enemy; but I do most warmly recommend to Mr. Dole and to other sincere men to address their fellows as though they had some faith in their moral and mental development and wholesomeness, whether they have or not, lest the great mass of Christian people suspect that there is somewhere a monopoly of Christian charity, and become discouraged with themselves. If people believe that Germany, the criminal, should in simple justice pay for the damage she has done, and be guarded against in the future until her reformation is assured, I am for that very reason, among others, quite confident that Christianity is so strong and real throughout humanity that we need have no misgivings, no fear that our present purpose will degenerate into revengeful passion.

Unfortunately the discussion of how we shall handle the criminal when we get him is not merely unnecessary; it is rather irrelevant. The whole business of every law-abiding, loyal man among us is to get him; and if any one has any doubt about the intelligence of the American people, it is that they will at present sadly fail to understand well-meant efforts to modify their feelings towards Germany's crimes.

A. EMERSON BENSON

Boston, October 25

BOOKS FOR SOLDIERS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There is one point not mentioned in your article, "What Do the Soldiers Read?" regarding which there is considerable misapprehension. We are told, and I doubt not with truth, that the men in the trenches do not read about the war. But most of our soldiers are not yet in the trenches, so that the advice, "Do not send them war books," is most unfortunate. Our Michigan and Wisconsin National Guardsmen here at Camp MacArthur are certainly eager for interesting books dealing with the conflict they are entering. One sergeant of limited education I found in his tent reading "Over the Top," who assured me that all the boys were trying to get it.

Of such books we have practically none. Libraries, private individuals, and the Post Office Department have been most generous in sending us quantities of magazines (including *Mother's Friend* and the *Police Gazette*) and of good fiction. We have approximately 1,000 volumes in each of our five buildings now open for the men, and in some cases 800 of these are in circulation. There are thousands of serious-minded, educated men who ask for books other than fiction, but we have little to offer them. The American Library Association will undoubtedly do what it can to remedy this defect, but time is pressing. We could circulate one hundred copies each of such books as "Over the Top," "A Student in Arms," "Rimes of a Red Cross Man," "Victor Chapman's Letters from France," and "Ambulance No. 10," as well as a considerable number of weightier works on the war and on modern history. Books, magazines, and newspapers in French, particularly if they contain illustrations, will be of real service in our twenty-three French classes, as will French coins and phonograph records.

Are there not many of your readers who will be glad to help in one of these ways to inspire our soldiers and to render them more intelligent regarding their great mission?

RAYMOND D. HAVENS
Educational Director

Camp MacArthur, Waco, Texas, October 29

BOOKS

Beginnings of American Corporations

Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations. 2 vols. By Joseph Stancliffe Davis. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

THE author of this interesting work says that the modern corporation is of ancient lineage, and that a thoroughly adequate account of its ancestry and early development has yet to be written. The institution was well matured in England during the American colonial period. It was only towards the close of this period that truly private corporations began to be established in the western hemisphere.

As a matter of fact, the lineage of the modern corporation is not really ancient. This institution was born in the fulness of time; its necessary antecedant was the development of capital. It was not until the close of the Middle Ages that this transforming event occurred. It was not, indeed, until the Fuggers and other industrialists of the fifteenth century began to augment the supply of silver by their mining operations that the foundation of the modern capitalist systems was laid. The upbuilding of this system was, of course, greatly accelerated by the discovery of America and the consequent enlargement of the output of the precious metals.

There was no place, in short, for the modern corporation until surplus wealth began to be accumulated. Adam Smith said in 1776 that a particular country very frequently had not capital sufficient both to improve and cultivate all its lands, to manufacture and prepare its whole rude produce for immediate use and consumption, and to transport the surplus part of either the rude or the manufactured produce to those distant markets where it could be exchanged for something for which there was a demand at home. The country, indeed, which had not capital sufficient for all those three purposes had not arrived, said Adam Smith, at that degree of opulence for which it seemed naturally destined. He declared that it had been the principal cause of the rapid progress of the American colonies

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towards wealth and greatness, that almost their whole capitals had hitherto been employed in agriculture. The greater part of both the exportation and the coasting trade of America was carried on by the capital of merchants who resided in Great Britain. Even the stores and warehouses from which goods were retailed in some provinces, particularly in Virginia and Maryland, belonged in many cases to merchants who resided in the mother country and afforded one of the few instances of the rêtail trade of a society being carried on by the capital of those who were not resident members of it.

It is not difficult to understand, therefore, the late arrival of the private corporations on this side of the Atlantic. Corporations there had been from the earliest colonial period, but they were not business corporations in the modern sense, and many of them were formed in the old country, such as the one created by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1587 to colonize Virginia. Colonies and municipalities were granted charters, as were also religious and educational institutions and the like. But it was not until well along in the eighteenth century that the first American business corporation was created.

This was the New London Society United for Trade and Commerce, which was chartered in Connecticut in 1732. It had, however, an early demise. Following this was a second Connecticut charter, namely, for building "Union Wharf," or "Long Wharf," at New Haven. A similar company, "The Proprietors of Boston Pier," or "The Long Wharf in the Town of Boston in New England," was chartered by the Massachusetts General Court in 1772. In 1768 the Pennsylvania Assembly incorporated "The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insuring of Houses from Loss by Fire." Alone of the colonial business corporations it has had a continuous existence to the present day.

Apparently the only other business corporations of the colonies were companies for supplying water. One was incorporated in Massachusetts in 1652, and three in Rhode Island in 1772 and 1773. Alongside of these corporations, and, indeed, preceding them, were a large number of unincorporated associations, partnerships, societies, groups of "undertakers," "companies," formed for a great variety of business purposes. In the eye of the law all of them were probably mere partnerships or tenancies in common. Whaling and fishing companies, so called, were numerous. There were a number of mining companies, chiefly for producing iron or copper. There were some manufacturing companies, but they were not numerous. Banking institutions were represented notably by the "Bank of Credit Lumbard," promoted in Boston by John Blackwell and authorized by the General Court in 1686, and by the "Land Bank or Manufacturing Scheme" in the same colony in 1739-41.

In addition to these there were a few insurance companies, a number of companies formed for the Indian trade, numerous land companies, large and small, a number of associations for erecting bridges, building or repairing roads, and improving navigation of small streams or rivers. Besides these there were a few colonial corporations not easily classed, such as libraries, chambers of commerce, etc.

During the Revolution few corporations of any sort were chartered. After the conclusion of peace the situation was materially altered. Capital had accumulated during the war. The disbanding of the army set free a labor supply, which was rapidly increased by throngs of immigrants. The day was one of bold experimentation, enthusiastic exploitation of new methods, eager exploration of new paths, confident undertaking of new enterprises. Everything conspired to bring about a considerable extension of corporate enterprise in the field of business before the end of the eighteenth century, notably after the critical period of disunion and Constitution-making had passed. Prior to 1801 over three hundred charters were granted for business corporations; 90 per cent. of them after 1789. Judged by twentieth-century standards these seem few, indeed, but neither in the colonies nor in the mother country was there precedent for such a development.

It is to this period that our author principally devotes himself. He examines the course of corporation development from 1783 to 1800 in different States and in different classes of corporations; the vicissitudes through which the new corporations had to pass; the contributions which they made; the causes of their success or failure; the attitude of the public, and the emergence of public policies towards them. If it be true that no institution can be properly estimated without due regard to its origin, the work before us may be viewed as of no small value. The thoroughness with which the author has performed his task is attested by a bibliography of fifty pages.

The projects with which the activities of that period were chiefly concerned were banking, inland navigation, toll bridges, turnpikes, insurance, water works, and manufacturing. Mr. Davis's treatment of these subjects is such as to merit the gratitude of students both of economics and of history. Of the four essays of which the work is composed, the second and third, though not the most valuable, are certainly the most interesting. The one deals with William Duer and the other with "The Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures."

In these two essays we are brought face to face with many of the leading characters of the period. They are as valuable for the sidelights which they cast upon the politics of the day as for the economic information which they impart. We find Duer, for example, occupying the secretaryship of the Board of Treasury and high in the esteem of Hamilton, while at the same time engaged in large business enterprises depending for their success upon the favor of the new Government. We discover that the methods of the promoter were much the same in 1787 as in 1917, that men in high Government positions were quite as likely to be objects of suspicion then as now, that clerical names on boards of directors were considered fully as effective. While somewhat amazed at the activity of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Ipswich, Mass., in behalf of the Scioto project, that "kind of illegitimate half-brother to a new Ohio company," one is forced to admire his shrewdness.

A Journalist's South America

British Exploits in South America. By W. H. Koebel. New York: The Century Co. $3.50.

ONE reason why so little is known of Latin America is that for centuries the policy of Spain was to prevent the outside world learning anything about her vast colonial empire. Trade secrets were jealously guarded; travellers of all sorts were discouraged; even intercourse between the Spanish colonists and Europe was held in check. The general results of this policy are apparent to this day, in the ignorance even of the well informed regard-

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ing the picturesque democracies of South America so radically different from those of English origin. The curtain has been lifted in White's "El Supremo," revealing rich vistas yet to be pursued. Further light is given by Mr. Koebel, an ardent Britisher, in spite of his German name, in the bulky volume under review, which professes to be a history of British activities in exploration, military adventure, diplomacy, science, and trade in Latin America. Mr. Koebel has travelled in the country he writes about, and has written half a score of books on it. He is also editor-in-chief of the "Encyclopedia of South America." He is therefore entitled to rank as an authority on his subject.

But the result is not entirely satisfactory. The author has an irritating habit of peppering his page with irrelevant marks of exclamation. He lapses at times into rank journalese. "The astonished peaks of the Andes looked down with a dry and cold smile——" "Decidedly Morgan appeared as the loudest squawk in the swan song of the buccaneers"; "The Admiral . . . had some fairly weighty cards up his sleeve," are specimens of a needlessly annoying style. The illustrations would be more valuable for brief statements of their *provenance* and authenticity. The portraits of Drake and Hawkins are wrongly labelled. But all deductions made, Mr. Koebel has brought together a great deal of widely scattered information on South America and presented it in a popular and readable fashion. He has also considered the needs of the serious student by supplying a bibliography of modern works since 1870.

The book is divided into four parts. The first deals with the early navigators, "When Drake went down by the Horn"; the second includes accounts of Anson's voyage, Whitelocke's luckless expedition, and the British fighters in the wars of independence, who were naturally Irishmen like O'Higgins and McKenna; the third section treats chiefly of British relations with Brazil; while the fourth runs over the travels of various scientific and literary men in the nineteenth century.

For three centuries the link between Britain and South America has been the British navy. The Elizabethan sea-dogs broke through the barriers erected by the Pope and His Most Catholic Majesty, in search of trade and plunder along the Spanish Main. A century and a half later Anson repeated the exploits of Drake in the same guarded waters. Cochrane, the fighting captain of the Speedy, is still gratefully remembered in Chili as founder of the Chilian navy. A Chilian Dreadnought bears his name at this day. And Cochrane did almost as much for the navy of Brazil. During the Napoleonic wars it was the navy that made possible Whitelocke's unauthorized expedition from Cape Town to the River Plate. According to Mr. Koebel, this attack on the power of Spain exposed the weakness of that country and helped thereby to bring on the revolution and the independence of South America. It was a Warspite that received on board Dom Pedro I after his abdication in 1831, and transported him with his suite to Portugal. Page after page is sprinkled with the names of British naval officers and of forgotten men-o'-war.

Trade followed the flag. Even before the Napoleonic wars were ended, British merchants, chiefly from north of the Tweed, were trading with the new republics which had been made out of the old Spanish provinces. England was then the shop of the world, her wares were in demand everywhere. The Berlin and Milan decrees could not keep them out of Europe, nor the war of 1812 out of New England. They were welcome in South America, where they were gladly exchanged for hides, horns, metals, sugar, coffee. A century ago, British capital invested in South America was between two and three millions. At present, it is not less than seven hundred million pounds sterling. In the Argentine, in Chili, and in Brazil British interests are very large. The English character has impressed itself strongly upon the Latin consciousness. To the dark-eyed Iberians, the Englishman is *loco*, or mad; but that is the impression he creates all the world over. His methods of sport, his games, his hygiene, his social customs, his clubs, his entertainments are paid the sincere flattery of imitation. Even more striking tributes to national character are embodied in the phrases "English time" and "English promise," on which a writer in the *Nation* commented some time ago. As Koebel puts it, "Is not the word of an Englishman—*Palabra de un Inglez*—an oath in itself? Is not the expression *Hora Inglesa* an appeal to punctuality?"

In spite of the good relations existing between the British and the South Americans, and the long start which Britain enjoyed over all competitors, there is a steady decline in British trade. This Mr. Koebel sets down to the complacency of the British merchant, his conservatism, his unwillingness to meet his customers half way, and his deafness to the advice of his agents in foreign parts. "It is not too much to ask of him [the British merchant] that he should put his customer's wants before his own views, that he should supply to Brazil axes of a steel tempered to fell the tropical ironwood instead of the English oak; that he should discover which cloth is popular in Lima and which in London." The British currency is also an obstacle to business in countries which employ the decimal system; though this may be changed after the war. British individualism also hampers trade; the British have not learned the value of the "combine." There is always the active competition of Germany, and there is coming the fiercer competition at the close of the war.

Mr. Koebel sees no reason why British and American enterprises should not thrive side by side. To meet German competition, he advises the employment of a superior type of travelling salesman, the educated British public-school or American college-bred type, and more energetic Government backing.

Western Asia in Ancient Times

Early Egyptian Records of Travel. Vol. II. Some Texts of the XVIIIth Dynasty, Exclusive of the Annals of Thutmosis III. By David Paton. Princeton University Press. $7.50.

IN this second volume Mr. Paton is continuing the extensive and laborious task which he has set himself, with the same unflagging devotion displayed in the first volume. The trouble and pains involved in the task as planned make it doubly regrettable that the usefulness of a large portion of the work should be so entirely incommensurate with the really formidable amount of labor expended. The Egyptian records furnish us with our earliest references to Western Asia, and the general title of Mr. Paton's series indicates that it is Western Asia which he intends to investigate. The method of presenting the sources arranges the material on each double page in five columns. The first column contains the plate and page references to the mod-

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ern publications of the document presented and is sometimes divided into as many as twelve sub-columns; the next column contains the original document almost *in toto,* in the form of a transliteration of the Egyptian words into Roman letters; the second column repeats in somewhat simpler form the transliteration of those passages of the document containing geographical references; the fourth column presents a translation of all the passages in the third; while the fifth and last column draws off the geographical names themselves. Each document is introduced by an exhaustive bibliography, which is commendably full and very conscientiously brought down to date. These bibliographies and the material in columns four and five will be very useful.

By far the greatest amount of time has been spent by the author on the laborious transliterations in columns two and three. It is lamentable that so much of this work is labor lost. In the first place, column three, containing only excerpts from column two, is needless repetition. But the transliterations in column two are of course unintelligible to the *layman;* and no *Egyptologist* desiring to consult the original text would ever rely on a transliteration, because it is unable to reproduce the pictorial elements contained in the determinatives. Mr. Paton has employed various devices to include the pictorial determinatives in his transliterations, but it is impossible to do this with success, and one substitute has led to serious error. For example, in the name of Sekenenre, one of the Pharaohs who warred against the Hyksos, occurs the determinative of strength, used pictorially and with no phonetic value. The author has transliterated it, and then translated this transliteration as "the Mighty." The king thus appears as "Sekenenre, the Mighty," though no such epithet belongs or ever appears in his name. In his effort to represent every hieroglyphic sign by some corresponding equivalent in the transliteration, the author inserts every alphabetic complement separately. The Egyptian scribe, for example, writes the letters *ms* with two signs: first a biliteral sign with the phonetic value *ms,* and a second purely alphabetic sign *s,* which he adds, not because he wishes to double the *s,* but in order to suggest by a familiar alphabetic letter the value of the less familiar biliteral sign preceding. In such a case the author transliterates both the biliteral sign and the alphabetic complement, thus *ms-s* or *mss.* In this case he is evidently under the impression that a double *s* is intended, and the well-known Pharaoh Ahmose appears as IAHMSS. In the same way the officer *"Ybn"* appears as Ibbana, with two *b*'s, where the Egyptian intended only one; and the important Egyptian designation of Syria *"Rtnw"* is given by the author as *Rtnnww* (later, p. 54, one *w* is dropped). Such a writing would make it very difficult for a non-Egyptologist to employ the term in etymology. How important this unnecessary overloading of the transliteration is, will be evident in the familiar name of the ancient cities of Kadesh (for a number of cities bore that name). The Egyptian writes the first two letters (consonants) *Kd+d,* by which he means only *Kd;* but the author regularly transliterates these first two signs of the name *Kdd,* or in his system *Qdd.*

These criticisms are not offered in a pedantic spirit; but in the hope that the prodigious amount of hard work which the author is devoting to this series may not in any degree be lost because of a method and system not suited to the purpose in view. If these volumes are intended for historians, geographers, and laymen, the last two columns of each page containing the translations and the geographical terms, introduced by the author's excellent bibliography, are amply sufficient. For such users the first three columns are entirely superfluous. If, on the other hand, the series is intended for Egyptologists, the columns of transliteration (two and three) never can serve as a substitute for the original text, as we have already said; and even if they could, column three, containing only excerpts from column two, is a complete waste of time and labor. By the elimination of columns two and three, the author would relieve his task of an enormous burden, free his presentation from some seriously misleading transliterations, make his pages much clearer and more readily usable, reduce the bulk of the work to far handier and more convenient compass, and the selling price to a figure which would give his valuable work much wider circulation and usefulness. The loss involved would be absolutely nothing.

Clues

The Twilight of the Souls. By Louis Couperus. Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Secret Bread. By F. Tennyson Jesse. New York: George H. Doran Company.

Zella Sees Herself. By E. M. Delafield. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

IN "The Twilight of the Souls," Mr. De Mattos translates with his accustomed skill the third of those linked "Books of the Small Souls" in which the Dutch realist Couperus has embodied so searching and sympathetic an interpretation of human nature and of modern life. It is an interpretation touched with melancholy, not to say pessimism. An ordinary, average family group, these Van Lowes, not notably rich or poor, high or low, talented or dull, good or bad. They are the common stuff of humanity, each with his shred of yearning, his inkling of God that strives upwards dully or desperately through the clods of flesh and the trammels of convention. There is the old grandmother, who gropes for the highest good in the physical unity and worldly honor of her family. There are young Emilie and Henri, brother and sister, who seek it in the guise of freedom. There are the three middle-aged brothers, Ernst, who seeks the phantom happiness in æsthetic response; Paul, who makes a paltry idol of physical fastidiousness; and Gerrit, the big, blustering dragoon who appears to live in the senses and is the secret prey of spiritual despair. It is Gerrit who holds the centre of the stage in this act of the family drama—a small soul, but a soul dimly conscious of its bonds, and seeking release from them, in the end, through the friendly door of death. Second to him is the Constance of the earlier narratives, now in the twilight of her maturity, but the steadfast one of them all; the one who, through suffering, has obtained at least a glimpse of spiritual light: "The small soul does not want much," she muses: "An atom, a grain of absolute reality; a tiny grain, but all-sufficing. . . ." If only a part of it be communicated to others: "That is the whole secret: to share your grain, to give, though it be but of your superfluity, to others." Her son "Addie" is to be central figure in the final volume of the series, "Dr. Adraan." In him already the saving grain shows itself of larger and stronger growth. Already, if he is breaking the bonds

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of family tradition, it is in the quest of freedom, not (like Amelie and Henri), to do as he likes, but to fulfil his nature and destiny.

"Secret Bread" is a novel of not dissimilar substance and temper, a sober and somewhat sombre interpretation of individual character in its relations to the family and to society at large. It gratefully lacks the famous brilliancy of the "younger British school" of novelists. It has solidity, not only in its portraiture, but in its embodiment of a truth, or, if you will, a moral, as contrasted with the expression of an "idea" in the Wellsian sense. And this spiritual truth is akin to that embodied in "The Twilight of the Souls." Parson Boase puts it in a nutshell for us: "There's only one thing certain—that we all have something, some secret bread of our own soul, by which we live, that nourishes and sustains us. It may be a different thing for each man alive." Here, more narrowly, is the "life story" of a Cornishman, Ishmael Ruan. His father, of an ancient line of Squires, has chosen to live as a boor. On the eve of his death he indulges a cynical whim by legitimizing the son who is about to be born, at the expense of his elder children by the same mother. The name Ishmael is to be a part of the bitter jest: "He'll live to breed hatred and malice in the pack of ye, and every hand of his own flesh and blood'll be against him." But Parson Boase, a stout believer in race and order, sees hope for Cloom in the child whose existence has been sanctioned by the Church. Under his ceaseless and affectionate care Ishmael is reared as a gentleman. His nature is strongly rooted in the Cornish soil, and in due time he returns to Cloom to make of it all that the parson has dreamed. But happiness eludes him, the calm and settled happiness of the man at peace with himself and the world. Love cheats him, friendships pass, and to his own kin he remains an intruder and a thief. Archelaus, his oldest brother, is the special evil genius of his life. Archelaus has much of his father's brutal and sardonic humor; in the end fate throws in his way a dreadfully complete means of avenging his dispossession. The process of growing old, the gradual slackening and decay of the faculties, are dwelt upon here with something of the ruthlessness that disconcerted many a sensitive reader in "The Old Wives' Tale." But our last vision of the soul of Ismael, as, from his stricken and dying body, it surveys the course of its mortal experience, is not a vision of despair. It perceives that the nature of that secret bread by which it has lived has changed with the changing years: "In his childhood he had lived by what would happen in a far golden future, in his youth by what might happen any dawning day; but in his years of manhood, and from then till he began to feel the first oncoming of age. he had lived by what he did." Since then, "he had lived, as all men do, knowingly or not, by death. This was the secret bread that all men shared. . . . If, then, men lived by death, what was death? Not a mere cessation—then a going-on": an escape from the lesser life to the greater. And his soul perceives that, in the light of this truth, none of its earthly experience, none of its suffering or even its errors, have been wasted, as preparation for the "going-on." This is a book of rich texture, both in form and in substance.

Not less original, though slighter in scope and lighter in manner, is "Zella Sees Herself," by a new English writer, Miss E. M. Delafield. It is a comedy of youth, in the sense in which Jane Austen's stories may be so called. It has a certain analogy to what was probably also Miss Austen's first effort, "Northanger Abbey," and in its quiet precision of characterization and dialogue as well as in its well-nigh unerring satirical touch, it measurably suggests the great Mistress of British fiction. Looked upon coldly, Zella is a silly child who defeats her objects of pleasing people by the habitual poses and pretences she adopts to that end. She is a chameleon restlessly shifting color to match the surface tints of whatever persons she may be thrown with. What redeems her is her growing hatred of her own sincerity. She is not made over and disposed of under our eyes; when we part with her at the age of eighteen, she has barely come to see herself. Miss Austen (we cannot get away from the comparison) might have created Zella's honest Cousin James, who does so much towards clearing her vision; but she would have made a match between them. But James has no thought of this, and only Zella's vanity suggests it to her for an instant as a possibility. She is left standing with her face turned, dazedly, towards the light—the light of sincerity, of reality, of the thing to be lived for: "Friendship, faith, work, love—the things that stood for Truth to others—seemed to have failed her. Even as the thought formed, the first hint of a solution that should surely crystallize itself into a solidity came to her. Nothing of these things was known to her. She had seen only the outside forms, from a long way off. In Time alone, whose other name is Perspective, might lie an answer, in some greater or lesser degree, to the appeal with which Zella, still on the threshold, echoed the question of the ages: 'What is Truth?' "

Notes

THE Century Company announces for publication this month: "The Note Book of an Intelligence Officer," by Major Eric Fisher Wood; "Kultur in Cartoons," a second series of Raemaekers's work, with explanatory matter by G. K. Chesterton, Eden Phillpotts, and others; "D'Orcy's Airship Manual," by Ladislas D'Orcy.

Harper & Brothers announce for publication this week the following volumes: "Diplomatic Days," by Edith O'Shaughnessy; "Sandsy—Himself," by Gardner Hunting, and "Mark Tidd, Editor," by Clarence Budington Kelland.

To-day Henry Holt & Company publish "The Sturdy Oak," a composite novel of American politics by, what they term, an "all-star cast"; "Our Democracy: Its Origin and its Tasks," by Prof. James H. Tufts.

The Thomas Y. Crowell Co. announces for immediate publication: "How to Get What you Want," by Orison Swett Marden; "Boy's Book of Scouts," by Percy K. Fitzhugh; "The Book of Holidays," by J. Walker McSpadden.

The American Academy in Rome announces the publication of Volume I of a new series to be called "Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome."

"MARTIN LUTHER, the Story of His Life" (Houghton Mifflin; $1), by Elsie Singmaster, is a brief sketch too slight to demand more than a passing reference. The book is without special distinction, but the familiar tale is told with intelligence and in a simple and straightforward fashion. The interest aroused by the celebration this year of the four hundredth anniversary of the Reformation makes the book timely.

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IT is not often that an author who writes a highly successful book on an important subject of the moment adds to his reputation by a second book on the same general theme. Hermann Fernau, whose "Because I Am a German" was one of the most striking arraignments of Prussianism which the earlier period of the war produced, affords a good illustration of the rule in "The Coming Democracy" (Dutton; $2 net). Vigorous as is Mr. Fernau's indictment of the political system of modern Germany, or convincing as his exposure of the ulterior purposes of the Imperial Government may appear, there is little that is new, in these bitter and even cynical pages, for the reader who has kept moderately well abreast of the anti-German literature of the war. Moreover, destructive criticism, especially when forged in great heat, may easily go too far; and Mr. Fernau's attack upon the German Constitution is not strengthened by his failure to recognize the extent to which, as notably at the present moment, the Reichstag may if it chooses give the Government pause. Indeed, a reading of the book suggests the extremely useful service that would be rendered if some one who knows Germany and its people as well as Mr. Fernau does would point out just what the Germans could do, under their existing Constitution, to bring about the régime of popular government which President Wilson, for example, believes to be a prerequisite to peace. The most interesting chapters of the present volume, aside from those which treat of political conditions, are the ones which expose without mercy the narrowness and subserviency of much German scholarship and culture, and plead for the establishment of a genuine democracy which shall assure intellectual as well as political freedom.

LAST autumn the city of Florence paid a tribute of respect and affection to her most illustrious citizen, Pasquale Villari, who on October 3 entered on his ninetieth year. The Italian Government participated in the person of the Minister of Public Instruction, whose office was once held by Villari himself, in order to attest the veneration in which all Italy holds the great historian. The handsome volume ("Pasquale Villari. L'Italia e la Civiltà. Pagine scelte e ordinate da Giovanni Bonacci. Con un Profilo di Villari per Ermenegildo Pistelli." Ulrico Hoepli, Editore-Libraio della Real Casa. Milano, 1916. Lire 7.50), was published on the same occasion both as a present and as a lasting commemoration. The union of Italy, consecrated in the wars of the Risorgimento and in the world conflict now raging, is exemplified in no person better than in Pasquale Villari. He was born in Naples, where he passed his youth and early manhood, coming under the influence of a great teacher, Francesco de Sanctis. After the failure of the uprising against the Bourbons in 1848, which meant for the time being the suffocation of liberty and free speech, he began his long residence in Florence, except for his travels interrupted only by the few years he passed at Pisa as professor in the University. But as Minister of Public Instruction and Senator he has also for many years been a familiar figure in Rome; while his travels and historical researches have taken him both in the spirit and in the flesh to every part of Italy. It has been a happy thought of Professor Bonacci to assemble from the four hundred and more volumes and pamphlets which Villari has written excerpts that deal particularly with the contributions that ancient, mediæval, and modern Italy have made to civilization. The book begins with comparisons and contrasts the author has drawn between German and Latin civilization in general. It closes with recent essays, in which he vindicates the essentially Italian character of the Trentino, Venetia Giulia, and Dalmatia, and sets forth his conclusions in regard to the historical issues involved in the present European war. The intermediate pages have to do with every epoch of Italian history and culture from ancient to modern times. The biographical introduction by Professor Pistelli, also a pupil and friend of the venerable master, gives a lifelike portrait of the historian, patriot, and teacher, which, while not passing over his weaknesses and defects, shows him to our eyes, as his works will show him to posterity, a truly great man.

AS a delineator of the more sombre aspects of Dublin life Mr. James Joyce is unequalled. For him it has remained, in "Dubliners" (Huebsch; $1.50), to illuminate with a searching flood of imagination and sympathetic understanding whole tracts of middle-class life in the gray and laughing city. He invests with a convincing reality and an abiding human significance what are apparently the most trivial and insignificant happenings. In this volume of fifteen short sketches and stories not one is negligible, and nearly all are of high interpretative value. Perhaps the finest in the book is the last and longest, "The Dead," which describes in meticulous detail the annual dinner and dance at the Misses Morkan's. Julia Morkan is still the leading soprano at Adam and Eve's Church. Kate, the elder sister, teaches music to young pupils. Gabriel Conroy and his wife Gretta, the old ladies' niece, are expected at any moment, and there is trepidation lest a certain Freddy Malins should turn up "screwed" (*i. e.*, drunk). After some delay Gabriel and Gretta arrive and, a little later, Freddy Malins, only moderately sober. Delicious are the interchanges among the guests: Mr. Brown, who takes his whiskey not because he likes it but because "God help me! it's the doctor's orders"; Miss Ivors, the Gaelic Leaguer, and Mr. Bartell D'Arcy, the tenor. Gabriel Conroy, who is literary and has a priest-brother, carves the turkey and makes the principal speech at the dinner.

GOING home with his wife in the dull, winter dawn, Gabriel discovers himself suddenly filled with transports of tenderness for her. "Moments of their secret life together burst like stars upon his memory. Their children, his writing, her household cares, had not quenched their souls' tender fire." When, finally, they are alone in the hotel bedroom, Gabriel, hoping that his wife will reciprocate the unusual tenderness of his voice and manner, takes her in his arms, only to find that her thoughts, far away from him, have gone back to the time when, a young Galway girl, she had been wooed by the boy, Michael Furey, who, then in a decline, had died shortly afterwards—for love of her, she was sure. Overcome with grief at the sharp memory Gretta sobs herself to sleep upon the bed. Gabriel, all desire fled, sits in the dismal bedroom in the silent dawn, wondering at himself, feeling a strange pity for his wife descend upon him at the thought of her girlhood and its tragic romance. At length, growing chill, he creeps into bed beside her. As sleep comes weird visions pass before him. The snow begins again to fall.

It was falling on every part of the dark central plain, on the treeless hills, falling softly upon the Bog of Allen and, farther

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westward, softly falling into the dark, mutinous Shannon waves. It was falling, too, upon every part of the lonely churchyard on the hill where Michael Furey lay buried. It lay thickly drifted on the crooked crosses and headstones, on the spears of the little gate, on the barren thorns. His soul swooned slowly as he heard the snow falling faintly through the universe and faintly falling, like the descent of their last end, upon all the living and the dead.

There are other memorable studies in the book: the exquisitely wrought "Araby"; "Counterpart," the unedifying description of a night spent in various hostelries by a middle-aged Dublin clerk; "Grace," in which the devastating seriousness of a conversation on high ecclesiastical matters between a commercial traveller and his friend is irresistibly funny. But "The Dead," one feels, is Mr. Joyce at his best.

TAKING her text from a sapient utterance of Charles Frohman's, that "death is the most beautiful adventure in life," Miss Lilian Whiting has written a book on "The Adventure Beautiful" (Little, Brown; $1 net). She believes that there are "three states of these dearest and most precious relations [between soul and soul]: the first when both are together in the physical world; the second when one has passed into the ethereal and one still remains here; the third when both are again united in the ethereal environment." She believes also that "a spiritual epoch is now upon the world," and that the war is a symptom of "a new down-rush of spirit power." These "sweeter relations" of embodied soul with disembodied are therefore becoming easier for us, and Miss Whiting has much to say of the sort of spiritualism taught by Professor Hyslop. With this spookery she mingles fragments of mysticism caught from anywhere in the Orient. The effect of the mixture upon one soul at least is not exalting, but there are readers who enjoy Miss Whiting's rhapsodies more than does this reviewer.

IN a series of brief chapters Mr. Edward Thomas has given an account of "A Literary Pilgrimage in England" (Dodd, Mead; $3 net). Most of the places described are familiar enough—the London and its surroundings of Blake and Lamb and Keats, Meredith's Box Hill, Shelley's various haunts, Matthew Arnold's Oxford and Cobham, and the like. A few of the authors celebrated—John Aubrey, W. H. Hudson, and John Clare, for example—carry us to fresher fields; but the whole book, despite Mr. Thomas's pleasant vein of description and criticism, scarcely rises above the commonplace, if not the trite. It is fully illustrated.

ONE of the most interesting sessions of the American Historical Association last Christmas was that in which three speakers discussed the ways in which the great Peace Congresses of the nineteenth century were organized and did their work. It showed to what a large extent the final settlements were the result of preliminary secret understandings or of the skilful manœuvres of master diplomats. C. D. Hazen described delightfully how Talleyrand at Vienna shrewdly forced his way in where he was neither expected nor desired, and how the Congress of Vienna was not really a congress at all, but a series of informal meetings of the Five Great Powers. This pentarchy redrew the map of Europe to suit themselves simply because they had in their hands the money and the forces. As for the lesser states of Europe, they were not consulted; their representatives danced, dined, hunted, and flitted ineffectually in the dismal outer limbo of the neglected. Similarly W. R. Thayer, discussing the Congress of Paris, explained Clarendon's dominating leadership, Count Walewski's absurd blunders, and Cavour's shrewd moves. R. H. Lord showed how England and Russia so completely and clandestinely arranged the most important questions before the actual opening of the Congress of Berlin, that when it finally met it did little more than go through the farce of consecrating what had been previously agreed upon by the two principals. To be sure, some of the minor Balkan questions at times threatened to ruffle the serenity of the sessions. It was this secret bargaining, creating unnatural, unjust, and intolerable conditions, which was partly responsible for the present war. These three papers have been fortunately brought together under the title "Three Peace Congresses of the Nineteenth Century" (Harvard University Press; 75 cents). They suggest some of the practices to be avoided when present Europe at last agrees to settle down to a genuine and honest discussion of peace terms. There is added also a paper by Professor Coolidge on "The Claimants to Constantinople," a problem which the renunciatory attitude of Russia's revolution makes a little less hopeless than it was nine months ago.

MR. LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH, known for his excellent work on "The Life and Letters of Henry Wotton," has published with Doubleday, Page ($1.25 net) a little volume of musings on life in general and his own life in particular, to which he has given the modest title of "Trivia." Some of the numbers—they commonly confine themselves to the space of a single page—are in the nature of prose poems, somewhat in the manner of the *vers-libristes*, but better than the run of such things. Others take the form of a somewhat expanded *pensée*. The flavor of the whole is that of an epicurean observer of the ways of the world, rather cynical when not poetical. It is a pretty book in form, sad and wise in its contents, and sometimes exquisite.

"THE Japanese Invasion," by Jesse Frederick Steiner (McClurg; $1.25), is not, as the title would seem to indicate, another warning against the much-labored military and economic "peril" from Japan. The author defines it in his preface as "an attempt to study one phase of

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the Oriental problem—the racial aspects of Japanese immigration." "A study in the psychology of inter-racial contacts" is his sub-title; and the interest of his book, as Dr. Steiner further distinguishes it, "is psychological, rather than historical or economic." Even though the author practically ignores such important issues as Japan's foreign policy—as to the war, he hardly mentions it—he handles the subject he has chosen with breadth and realism. That subject, racial consciousness, appears, as he illumines it, more and more to lie at the heart of the American-Japanese problem. Dr. Robert E. Park, of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago, who writes the book's able introduction, is wholly within the bounds of just praise when he writes, "So far as I know, an investigation of precisely this nature has not hitherto been made." Dr. Steiner marches through a subject whose haziness is traditional in a rigidly consecutive manner, and illustrates his points, especially in the case of the position of Japanese in America, with a refreshing quantity of human examples. For instance, when he wishes to show us American prejudice against the Japanese at its worst, he takes us in his company on the round of state visits paid by the first Japanese Mission to this country in 1860 to the principal cities of the Atlantic seaboard. The coarse and gratuitous insults he cites from the public prints of that comparatively enlightened day are chastening reading to a generation which has all but forgotten Dickens's "American Notes"—and Dickens we tried to honor; our Japanese visitors, all of them high officials of state, we frankly regarded as a free show. Our own officials naturally acted with genuine courtesy, but the public attitude of the American people was a shameful memory. But Dr. Steiner by no means tells the story from the Japanese point of view. He has lived in Japan, as a teacher in a mission school, for seven years, and he makes sympathetic allowance everywhere for Japanese honor and Japanese pride; but he is a scientist, and on the major issues he speaks with reserve and detachment. His treatment of the Californian situation is characteristic. He does not blame this Government, State or national; he is interested in tracing and diagnosing a condition. He discusses the Japanese as human beings, not as the menacing abstractions which plague Californian imaginations. He describes their social organization among us, its solidarity, its peculiar economic bases, its isolation. Bit by bit he builds up the environment in which Japanese are obliged to grasp the rigid necessities of their position in America. He exhaustively discusses intermarriage. He cites dozens of cases, both in this country and in Japan. The last chapter, The Significance of Waking Asia, is a forceful and fitting close to an extraordinarily suggestive book.

THE second volume of Treitschke's "History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century" (McBride; $3.25 net) covers the years 1814-1819. If it lacks the complete ecstasy of the author's narrative of the War of Liberation, it compensates in a measure by the tempered pride with which he discusses the spiritual achievements of Germany during the first years of peace. Besides, there is a flare-up of the old enthusiasm in the hundred pages devoted to the Waterloo campaign. The political reconstruction, by which the forty-one sovereign states were formed into a loose federation, the deception of the popular hopes of liberty and union, are treated by Treitschke in a highly characteristic fashion. He has no word of reproach for Frederick William III's act of perfidy in deliberately breaking his promise of a constitution for Prussia. Instead, he pleads that Prussia was unripe and unfit for political emancipation. He can even argue with some plausibility that the South German constitutions were to prove a strength and support of particularism. There are many interesting observations interspersed through the volume: the deleterious effect on German science of the speculative arrogance of Schelling and Hegel; the assertion that the free-trade movement was initiated not in England but in Prussia; the ascription to the English of the doctrine "My country, right or wrong," etc. His reference to "the old struggle between world dominion and national freedom" seems like a prophecy. The translation by Eden and Cedar Paul continues to show the defects and qualities of the first volume—competence without elegance.

National Miniatures

Harry A. Garfield

THE old saw which represents great men's sons as usually small enough to strike a reasonable average has no application to the Garfield family, which produced in one generation a President of the United States and in the next at least two men of deserved eminence. But President Garfield had for a wife a woman of exceptional force and energy, with a wonderful capacity for coping with sudden exigencies—one of the sort we read about in stories of pioneer life, but rarely meet. The "Garfield boys," as they are still called in spite of their having turned the half-century post, resemble both father and mother. From the father they inherit an attractive personality, a tactful address, and the gift of ready speech; from the mother a combination of firmness of resolve with external gentleness and self-control.

Harry Augustus is the eldest of a considerable family group. He was born too late to recall his father as a soldier, but much of his childhood was passed in Washington, where the Garfields made their home during the sessions of Congress in a modest dwelling on the edge of Franklin Square, which has since been turned into an apartment house. Across the Square stood a private school famous in those days and later as a place for preparing boys for college. It was kept by a quaint scholar named Young, who took great pride in his personal resemblance to James G. Blaine and who loved to entertain visitors at his desk by pointing out among the pupils facing him the sons of Secretary This, and of Senator That, and of Representative So-and-So. To this school Harry was sent, and it is to his credit that, as his father advanced in public importance, the lad did not succumb, like some of his companions, to the influence of the atmosphere of vicarious greatness which surrounded him. As soon as he was prepared for college he entered Williams, where his father had been graduated twenty-five years before. The President's assassination occurred the same summer, leaving this eighteen-year-old freshman to share with his mother the responsibility of heading their household in the shadow of a terrible tragedy. Following in the footsteps of his father, Harry adopted the law as a basic profession, though his strong bent was towards politics and sociology. He liked people, and the things that have to do with human rather than purely material interests. He began practice in Cleveland, but was soon immersed in the task of cleaning the dark and

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dirty corners of the municipal government, and was rewarded by witnessing the success of a reform movement under his leadership which drove into exile a notorious gang of "boodlers" who had been running the affairs of the city to their own enrichment and the damage of the respectable element in the community. As a lawyer and business man, meanwhile, he was busy with the upbuilding of transportation lines and banking concerns in the neighborhood, and putting in his few odd hours as a lecturer in the Western Reserve Law School; and as writer and speaker in the nation at large he made vigorous efforts towards the improvement of our Consular system and the civil service in general.

It was in the midst of these activities that Princeton University found him in 1903, when it was looking for some one to take the place of the professor of jurisprudence and politics who had just resigned. Woodrow Wilson, who had lately filled the same chair, had left it to become president of the University. Their community of tastes led the two men into pretty intimate companionship, and thus paved the way for the appointment of Garfield—who in the interval had been called to the presidency of Williams—as Fuel Administrator through the crisis brought about by the country's entrance into the world war. The choice of him for a post which was bound to have, for a time at least, a savor of unpopularity, reflects credit upon President Wilson's discernment; for the new Administrator possesses the same faculty which was so conspicuous among the political assets of his father, for "getting on" with people. His determination as to the course he is to pursue is as definite as his mother's always was and still remains in spite of her eighty-five years; but his way of meeting opposition wears it gradually away, and an adversary who enters the lists against him resolved not to yield an inch may before long be presenting him with an ell, not as a token of surrender, but with a sense of offering a wholly voluntary contribution to a worthy cause. In handling the coal industry, so dependent on a harmonious relation between employers and employed in the mining fields, a talent of this sort is a fortune in itself. What Garfield accomplished as a college president, winning over the bulk of the student body to his support notwithstanding the antagonisms he had aroused at the outset by sundry new restrictive measures, he bids fair to accomplish in his dealings with the mine-owners and their workmen, if we may judge by the present attitude of certain men in authority among the knights of the pick.

Garfield has the large head, the expansive brow and fresh-tinted complexion of his father, with the full, dark, poetic eyes of a dreamer, but the mouth and chin of a man of action. He is a natural orator, not of the spread-eagle variety, but with a ready command of the phrases best calculated to convey his meaning clearly, and a happy sense of proportion and perspective in the arrangement of his argumentative points. A youthful fondness for football trained him to the appreciation of intelligent team-play, and he finds far greater satisfaction in a success won by coöperative work than in any mere personal triumph over threatening odds. Nearly every one who does not know the man is disposed to resent the undignified familiarity of the newspapers in referring always to "Harry" Garfield. There is in this no cause of offence, however, for Harry is the name with which he was christened: it might have cost him half his availability for such posts as he has filled to have been loaded with the formal "Henry."

TATTLER

Reviews of Plays

"THE LAND OF JOY"

NEW YORK had a genuine novelty, one of high merit, in the production offered on Thursday night at the Park Theatre of "The Land of Joy." It is a fantastic review, with music by Quinto Valverde, and is presented by Velasco Bros., representing the Valverde Musical Enterprises, Inc.

It might well have been styled a carnival of singing, dancing, and color. The music was ambitious in part, melodious and pleasing always, and it was finely interpreted by a well-balanced orchestra conducted by Señor Valverde himself. Maria Marco, the prima donna, combines with great personal charm a beautiful voice which she uses with intelligence and effect; it is capable of the lighter grand-opera rôles. The dancing was a revelation in its brilliancy and variety. Besides L'Argentina, featured as the "world-famous Spanish dancer," who gave classic dances, and Antonio Bilbao, whose "table" and "heel" dances were in native character, there were numerous solos and groups whose grace and vivacity made one feel that one could not again sit through the lifeless saunterings of the ordinary musical comedy. The constantly changing gorgeousness of the costumes was bewildering. Spanish laces, mantillas, combs, and roses gave way to cloth of gold, velvet boleros, Spanish turbans, which in turn were succeeded by the colorful rags of the gypsies, gold-encrusted satins of the bull-fighters, and the rich cloths of the troubadours.

It is a pity it was thought necessary to have an American cast, for, while Nannette Flack, the singing principal of this group, was attractive to look upon and had a pleasing voice, the three comedians were crude and tiresome, and the other two members of the cast were nonentities. Without them the Spanish company was entirely delightful.

"THE OLD COUNTRY"

MR. DION CALTHROP, author of this play, has to his credit a charming bit of quaint fancy embodied in a story entitled "Perpetua," which recounts the adventures of a man and a little girl as they journey about with a circus. We suspect that Mr. Calthrop's talent requires some such loosely jointed framework to be seen to best advantage. In "The Old Country" are two or three situations which in droll piquancy suggest his arresting little story, yet the work as a whole has no dramatic drive, and is indeed rather amateurish. It handles the fortunes of a successful young man who returns from America, where his millions have been made, to the tiny town of his birth in England for the purpose of wiping out a long-standing injury: He was born out of wedlock of a mother who has refused to reveal the name of his father. She has told him, however, that she was driven out of the town by its three most influential families, and hence it is his plan, by means of his money, to dispossess the persons guilty of this cruelty and to install his mother in the manor, where she was formerly a servant and where she may now "queen" it over her one-time persecutors. There is one act which has some dramatic force, that in which the mother, after discovering her son's plot, refuses through humility to let him execute it. This is a true human touch, yet in general the humanity of the play lies, not in the central theme, but in the quaint characters that form the background. Miss

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Maud Milton in the part of the mother was excellent, and Mr. Faversham made a spirited rôle of the hero.

F.

THE WASHINGTON SQUARE PLAYERS

OF the four one-act plays on the opening bill of the Washington Square Players the first may be dismissed as a rather strained effort to illustrate one of life's "unreasonable" tragedies. The second has the ingenious setting of a show window on Fifth Avenue, in which three "nannikins" come to life and philosophize upon the scene of frivolity which has just been enacted by two girls and two men in and about the window. The third play also has an ingenious setting—the "fo'c'sle" of a tramp ship just entering the war zone. The men are on edge with nerves, though they endeavor to conceal their anxiety, and when one of them, somewhat the superior of them all mentally, is seen stealthily removing a suspicious-looking strong-box from his bag to his bunk, it is clear that he must be a German spy bent upon blowing up the ship. What he really is and the effect of the discovery upon his companions it would not be quite fair to reveal. As dramatic writing the play is a trifle, yet it succeeds in what it sets out to do and holds the interest of the audience throughout. The final number on the bill, "His Widow's Husband," is a translation of a smart, domestic comedy by Jacinto Benavente. The piece gets its sparkle from the prevailing note of cynicism. A Spanish beauty is confronted with the prospect of having to attend the unveiling of a statue of her first husband, although her second husband, a close friend of the first, had been her lover while husband number 1 still lived. The situation is further complicated by the publication of a volume of letters in which the first husband shows that he was aware of the *liaison*. The compiler of the letters, the publisher, a lawyer, the man, and the wife afford as many angles from which to approach the delicate problem. It is discussed with the liveliest of give-and-take. The play is amusing, but to Americans must seem not a little exotic.

F.

Amusements

PERCY GRAINGER First New York Recital of the Season
Mr. Grainger will present a most interesting program at the piano, including three original compositions not before heard in New York.
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NOTE.—Mr. Grainger has joined the 15th Band of the U. S. Artillery Corps and many of his comrades will attend the Recital.
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IN "THE MASQUERADER"

Finance

"Short Sales" and "Minimum Prices"

FOR the exceedingly violent break in prices during the past week—the decline up to Friday's closing ran from 4 to 13 points—there appeared to be three main reasons. The continued liquidation, which started when the war-tax schedules were announced, was one. News of the disastrous Italian defeat was certainly another. But the report that New York, like Montreal, might establish minimum prices on the Stock Exchange, was on one or two days the most adverse influence of all.

The report was unfounded; it was denied by the Stock Exchange authorities. But its circulation started heavy selling of both investment and speculative holdings, and from both New York and out-of-town markets, caused by knowledge that, if the report had been true, no one would have a chance to realize. With prices arbitrarily fixed above what buyers were willing to pay, trading would have ceased.

On Friday afternoon, the Stock Exchange Committee called for daily reports from its members of all stocks borrowed against "short sales"; such reports "must state the names and amounts of the borrowed stocks," from whom they are borrowed, and "the names of customers for whose accounts such stocks are borrowed and the amount borrowed from each customer." This obviously meant that the Committee proposed to learn who was engaging in "bear sales." They might or might not draw inferences from such knowledge.

Presumably, one motive of this announcement was to meet the somewhat random newspaper suggestion that the short selling had been for enemy account and for sinister purposes. This was not a very plausible explanation; but suppose it had been proved, what then? Very possibly, establishment of a rule that no short sales should be made unless the origin of the orders were privately reported to the Committee. A somewhat similar rule regarding foreign orders was enforced in January, 1915.

Was it, on the other hand, possible that short selling would be prohibited outright? In answer to that question, it was commonly asked what good would be accomplished. Berlin established a "cash market" early in this war, and Paris established it when the Russo-Japanese War began; the French plan being so drastic as to require evidence of actual ownership of the shares delivered. The plan worked badly; its relief was only momentary and mainly fictitious, and it was soon abandoned. Its direct effect was to leave a market, unprotected by "bear covering" at a lower level, wholly at the mercy of excited liquidation.

It is highly advisable, when such incidents as last week's occur on outside stock exchanges and such rumors circulate on our own, that people should be made to understand what they are talking about. "Establishment of minimum prices" was predicted in an easy-going way on Wall Street a few days ago, as if with prohibition of sales below an arbitrary figure the downward tendency of a market would cease at once and everybody concerned would be in a comfortable situation. But this presumption ignored the somewhat relevant fact that both large and small holders of securities sometimes sell because they wish the money. If

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Summary of the News

THE firing of the first shot by American troops last week has been closely followed by the news of the first American casualties and losses at the hands of the Germans. Three soldiers are reported killed, five wounded, and twelve missing. The War Department bulletin states that a salient occupied by American troops was raided by the Germans before daylight on November 3, after the position had been isolated by a heavy barrage fire from the German guns. The loss inflicted on the enemy raiders is not known, but one German was taken prisoner. The attack on that sector held by American troops has been predicted for the past fortnight by the British and French military writers, who have reasoned from the past experiences in the British army, when Canadian and Australian troops, known by the enemy to be occupying the trenches for the first time, were promptly subjected to intense artillery bombardment and subsequent fierce onslaughts. Full details from Gen. Pershing regarding the incident are not as yet available, but there is no doubt that the "North Americans," as the German papers refer to our troops, will continue to receive German attention in the future.

THE great retreat of Gen. Cardona's army from the Isonzo to the Tagliamento River, where a new line had been prepared, has been carried out in a masterly manner. The disorganized units of the shattered Second Army, which received the full shock of the German attack, were covered in their withdrawal by the almost superhuman efforts of certain units like the famous Alpini and Bersaglieri regiments, and by the Italian cavalry, who have once more drawn attention to the part that this arm continues to play in modern warfare. Competent observers report extraordinary bravery and sacrifice on all sides during the strategic withdrawal, while all agree that, after the retreat began, there was no evidence of a panic. The advance of the Teutonic invaders was everywhere sullenly and fiercely contested. As we go to press it is reported that the Austro-German forces have crossed the Tagliamento River, though not in sufficient force to precipitate a crisis on this strategic line of Italian defence. It is still a matter of doubt in military circles whether or not Gen. Cardona attaches as great importance to a determined stand on this river as is generally expected. If he intends only to fight a delaying action, it is felt that the next stand by the Italians will have to be made at the Livenza or the Piave River, for the defence of Venice. Meanwhile the British and French are hurrying men and munitions, chiefly the much-needed artillery, to aid the Italians, and the Premiers, Painlevé and Lloyd George, have gone to Rome to take part in a great Allied conference on the Italian crisis.

IN response to the appeal made in a published interview with Premier Kerensky in behalf of Russia, declaring her incapacity to take any further part in the war, the Government has made another loan, amounting to $31,700,000, to Russia through the Treasury Department. Secretary Lansing made a statement on this occasion refuting the opinion that has rapidly gained currency that Russia is "out of the war," and declaring that Premier Kerensky was misunderstood, and that the Provisional Government in Russia "is attacking with great energy the problems confronting it." The State Department has been emphatic in its denial that any part of Premier Kerensky's statement, conveyed through the interview on the Russian situation, could be construed into meaning that Russia was desirous of concluding a separate peace with Germany.

WHILE criticism is still actively directed against the British Admiralty for the inactivity of the British fleet in the Baltic as a result of the query made by Premier Kerensky in his reported statement of the disorganized condition and dire need of Russia, the British naval forces in the North Sea between Sweden and Denmark engaged and sank eleven German boats off the Cattegat. Sixty-four prisoners were rescued by the British destroyers. The largest of the German boats was a cruiser disguised to act as a commerce destroyer in the Atlantic. No British losses are reported by the Admiralty. The eagerly expected statement by Sir Eric Geddes on the submarine crisis developed the fact that nearly half, or between 40 and 50 per cent., of the German U-boats operating in the North Sea, the Arctic, and the Atlantic have been sunk since the beginning of the war. The policy of the Admiralty has been to withhold statistics on the numbers of German submarines sunk. The First Lord of the Admiralty referred to the situation as resolving itself into one of endurance. Touching on British mercantile losses, he stated that in tonnage this amounted to less than one-third, with a similar ratio for the shipping of all the other nationalities. Last week the American army transport Finland was torpedoed while returning to these shores. No lives were lost, and the damage was so slight as to enable her to return to a British port for repairs.

COUNT VON HERTLING has accepted the office of Chancellor vacated by Dr. Michaelis. The appointment of the new Chancellor is thought to be a concession to the democratic elements in the Reichstag, and he is said to be in accord with them on peace terms. He is reported to be in favor of granting autonomy to Alsace and Lorraine within the limits of the Imperial Constitution. While the future of Count von Hertling's policy is still a matter of conjecture, he has still to conciliate certain reactionary elements, and it is rumored that even the liberal elements expect greater concessions from him in the future. Meanwhile the German public and press show evident relief at the passing of the recent political crisis.

FULL details of a British victory against the Turkish forces in Palestine report the capture of the historic town of Beersheba following close upon the capture of Gaza. In these operations British and Colonial troops, especially Australian and New Zealand cavalry, played an important part. On the western front the French have brilliantly followed up their victory at Malmaison that has compelled the Germans to make another strategic retreat at the Chemin des Dames. This retreat involves a German retirement along a fifteen-mile front to the Ailette River. From their new positions on the ridges of the Chemin des Dames the French guns are able to dominate the lines to which the Germans have withdrawn. On the British front in Flanders German artillery is active, indicative of the nervousness consequent on such a withdrawal. German prisoners testify to the effect of the terrific artillery fire that Field-Marshal Haig is maintaining on the Passchendaele Ridge, while the American artillery fire is reported to be above normal.

A GERMAN uprising has taken place in Brazil. In the southern part of the South American republic large German colonies exist, and it is in this region that the rising, appearing first in the guise of serious railway strikes that paralyzed communications, has assumed definite proportions and made necessary plans for the mobilization of the Brazilian army. In European waters the Brazilian ships Acary and Guarhy, both formerly German liners interned in Brazilian ports, are reported to have been sunk, two men being killed and four injured. The President of the Republic has gone before Congress with a plan involving drastic measures against the German menace.

JAPAN and the United States have concluded an agreement of great importance to the future peace of the world. In an exchange of notes with the United States Government Japan disavows any intention "to infringe in any way upon the independence or territorial integrity of China," and firmly adheres to the principle of the "open door," or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China. The United States, in return, recognizes that Japan has a special position in China. Japan takes the same position towards China which the United States maintains towards South and Central America.

THE New York Port War Board, created by the President to deal with the increasing, vital problems of transport and supply for our army in France, confronts the question that has long agitated New York. The matter of congestion has continually eluded satisfactory solution, the chief requisite being a closer coördination between the terminals of New Jersey and the New York docks and anchorages. Owing to State jealousy, New Jersey has lagged behind New York in developing her waterfront, and the present phenomenal demands arising from war needs has brought the matter to an issue. The recently created Interstate Commission of six has acted with Secretary Baker in organizing the Port War Board, and its members serve on this Board. New York city is thus saved from purely war control, and the Interstate Commission indirectly receives a measure of real power.

A SINGULAR tempest in a tea-pot has raged in Boston and agitated the press of the country over the alleged refusal of Dr. Karl Muck, the well-known conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, to include the "Star-Spangled Banner" in the programme to be played during a concert tour. At the regular Friday concert last week the patriotic number was played, and the conductor announced his resignation. Since then Major Henry L. Higginson, sponsor for the orchestra, has made a statement absolving Dr. Muck of any disloyal or disrespectful intention, and has assumed all responsibility for the omission that originally called forth a demonstration from patriotic societies in Providence. He states that the request for the inclusion of the "Star-Spangled Banner" came directly to him from some persons in Providence, and was not passed on to Dr. Muck.

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arbitrary prices are fixed above the bids of a declining market, then the would-be sellers may remain as numerous as before, but they will not find buyers.

The man who wishes to convert his Steel shares into cash to pay outside obligations or to settle a real estate transaction or to subscribe to a war loan might be willing to let them go at 98, or 95, or 90; but if par is fixed as the official minimum when conditions of the investment market warrant the lower figures, he is very likely to find that he cannot sell at all. London learned this through a very unpleasant experience in 1915, and in the end, though it knew that an almost instantaneous break of 10 points or so would follow abolition of the "minimums," it greeted that decision with enthusiasm, on the ground that now, for the first time in the war, it was possible to do business on the Stock Exchange.

It is always possible to restrict or forbid "short selling," and we have had our oracles during many years to tell us that such action was our duty. But if short selling is suspended (the experiment has been tried), then "buying for the short account" when the market's need of support is greatest must also disappear. When stock exchanges under such conditions discovered that the real cause of the previous falling prices had been actual liquidation, they also waked up to the fact that something was missing at the moment of most disturbing pressure.

Unhappily, the ideas of the general public at large about this question are obscure and in many respects extremely superstitious. The notion dies hard that short selling is, so to speak, made in the air; that short commitments never have to be settled, and that all of Wall Street's declines or advances result from the whim of financial supermen.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES

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By CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN

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A preliminary chapter traces in broad lines the nature of the relation of the two provinces to Mediæval Germany, the manner in which they subsequently became French, the character of the French rule for over two hundred years, the part taken by Alsace-Lorraine in the French Revolution, in the Napoleonic era, and in the Franco-German War.

The German agitation for the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine, the arguments urged by German publicists and scholars for the annexation of 1871, and the repeated protests of the people of Alsace-Lorraine against this act are fully stated.

Particular attention is paid to the spirit and the methods of German rule since the annexation, to the persistent attempts at Germanization, and to the reaction of all this upon the local population. A chapter is devoted to the Constitution of 1911 and another to the "Zabern Affair" of 1913. The influence, in recent years, of Pan-Germanism in embittering and endangering the situation is shown. The problems of public law and public morality involved in this famous "Question" are discussed, as is also the proposition for a plébiscite as an agency for its future settlement.

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